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THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXIX—1953

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SALEM, MASS.

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VOL. LXXXIX—JANUARY, 1953

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SALEM, MASS.

PRINTED FOR THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

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BEN: PERLEY POORE

1820 - 1887

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXVIV JANUARY, 1953

No. 1

BEN: PERLEY POORE OF INDIAN HILL.

By JOSEPHINE P. DRIVER

West Newbury abounds in hills; from the top of Pipe Stave one can see in the distance other elevations in rhythmic succession, resembling an enormous sea frozen into eternal petrified billows. Bald Pate in Georgetown, rises the highest, but nearer at hand there are Cherry Hill, Turkey Hill, Crane Neck Hill, and several others. These hills all have some special interest for the explorer. Cherry Hill, under a magnificent hedge of Norway spruce, shelters a famous nursery which has been conducted by four generations of the Thurlow family; Crane Neck Hill boasts a glorious view and was, moreover, the home of Sarah Ann Emery, locally renowned as the author of "Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian" and other books; to Turkey Hill belongs the house (much-altered) of Colonel Moses Little a Revolutionary hero, who was Officer of the Day at Bunker Hill; and at Indian Hill, is one of the most interesting and unique houses in this whole region of ancient homesteads, the ancestral home of the Poore family, Indian Hill Farm.

Long, long ago Indian Hill was an important Indian signaling-post and was valued accordingly by the aborigines; however, when it came into the possession of Great Tom, an Indian chief, he sold it and other land near by to the Commoners of Newbury and they to the first Poore to arrive in this country. The purchase price is reported to have been three pounds, certainly a meagre amount to pay for such a large tract; but Great Tom was evidently satisfied, for he and his descendants seem to have lived on

terms of perfect amity with John Poore and his descendants for two or three generations.

The first small dwelling which John Poore erected on the property was struck by lightning around 1740; the house subsequently built was the typical farmhouse of the period, comfortable and roomy, but with few pretensions to beauty except the beauty of functionalism. Benjamin, the sixth Poore from the original settler, started the nucleus of the present mansion. The farm was always prosperous and the Poores were important citizens in the town.

West Newbury was too small a field for Benjamin Poore's talents; he became a very successful merchant, with interests in business that penetrated even into the Deep South. He frequently went to Washington, then only a muddy, unattractive village, and on one of these trips, met Mary Perley Dodge, a resident of aristocratic Georgetown, D. C., but strangely enough a member of the Dodge family which originated in Hamilton, Mass. So she actually belonged to Essex County, as did he, although her upbringing had been entirely Southern. They were married in Washington, and their son, Ben : Perley Poore, one of four children, was born in Newburyport in 1820. In 1822, because of Mr. Poore's business commitments the family moved to New York.

Ben : Perley Poore had great natural gifts, and the wise guidance given him in his childhood did much to foster and develop them. Mr. Poore evidently believed in encouraging responsibility and self-reliance in his children at an early age, for at seven years old, Ben : was sent entirely alone, from New York to Hamilton, to visit his grandparents. It was then a fairly arduous journey of three or four days, but the trip seems to have been accomplished without incident.

When Ben : was eleven his father took him out of school and sailed for Europe with him, apparently thinking that travel was an education in itself for his son, as indeed it proved to be. In France the Poores had the honor of meeting General Lafayette, and in Scotland, they visited Abbotsford and Melrose Abbey. Sir Walter Scott, then at the height of his fame, was very kind to the young

American boy, showing him many relics of old Scottish chieftains, souvenirs of the Border Wars, and all the remembrances of things past which Scott had gathered about himself in such profusion. Abbotsford and the Abbey close by, places as romantic, mysterious, and legend-haunted as anything out of the Waverley novels, must have deeply impressed the susceptible mind of the lad and must have impressed the mind of the elder Poore as well, for on their return, Mr. Poore began the re-building of Indian Hill Farm. This work was continued by his son, and the result is a sort of Abbotsford or Strawberry Hill English Gothic. But of that more later.

Back in the United States Ben: was sent to day-schools in New York and then was enrolled at Dummer Academy in South Byfield. The Dummer of those days was a far, far different place from the *Governor* Dummer of today, and was not in the least appreciated by Ben: We do not know whether Ben: requested his father to remove him and receiving no encouragement, took matters into his own hands, or whether he simply decamped without warning, at any rate, he ran away and was eventually found in Worcester, quite competently earning his living in a printer's office. Perhaps wisely, his family allowed him to stay there for two years to learn the trade, then his father bought a newspaper for him, the "Southern Whig" of Athens, Georgia. He was not yet twenty.

It is possible that, when Ben: left Dummer, he embarked for California where his brother Walter was then living. He did spend some time in San Francisco in his youth and was even a member of a Vigilante group while he was there, but that episode may have occurred later. It is hard to find where it fits into his crowded early years.

Hardly had the "Southern Whig" and its new proprietor become used to each other than Mr. Poore arrived at a different decision in regard to his son. He was engaged in setting up another branch of his business in New Orleans and needed a supervisor to organize it, so he was anxious to have Ben: take it over. In the New Orleans of that day, it was highly desirable that any agent or manager should be able to both read and converse fluently

in French. This was a branch of Ben:'s somewhat unorthodox education which had been neglected. Just why he was not sent immediately to New Orleans and given tutors to perfect him in the language, we do not know. Perhaps it was a matter of "face," as limping or ungrammatical sentences might have made Ben: an object of derision, instead of respect; perhaps the handicap of not being able to understand at once the intricacies of business deals and financial matters was too serious a risk to take; perhaps it was simply that Ben:, having once tasted the delights of foreign travel, wished to enjoy them again. However that may be, through a little judicious wire-pulling, Ben: was named an attache to the American Legation at Brussels, where Henry M. Hilliard was then Minister. I do not think Ben: ever went to New Orleans, certainly not for many years and not as his father's representative. He made himself useful and agreeable in Brussels, and doubtless learned French there, but he evidently felt that his accent needed improving, for in 1844 he moved on to Paris.

Ben: was only secondarily a play-boy in Europe and never settled into the arduously idle life of an expatriate. He was quick to seize opportunities that another might have missed. Foreign travel was still an exciting and adventurous experience, in those days, and travel-books were eagerly devoured by the ordinary Americans who could journey only vicariously to "strange lands and lonely seas." Probably to help pay for his European sojourn, Ben: sent a weekly column of description and comment to the Boston "Argus" signing his articles "Perley." These were immediately so popular that Ben: decided to go further afield for material, and having canvassed the better-known countries of Switzerland, Belgium, France and Italy he ventured to Greece, Turkey, the Holy Land, Egypt and the desert. In our day only a rush through space to Mars or the moon, would be comparable in adventure and danger, to those pilgrimages in such strange, almost legendary places.

After more than a year of these wanderings he returned to Paris, brought there by a directive from the Massachu-

setts Legislature, engaging him to collect and copy documents and writings relating to the background and early history of this Commonwealth. Presumably this colossal task took him to England, Holland, and Spain, as well as France. Finally, after two years of work, he amassed a collection of records which filled ten volumes of references and two cases of maps, all relating to the years between 1492 and 1780. A member of the Moseley family has told me of seeing those immense volumes in a corner of the Indian Hill library, and doubtless they still survive somewhere. What has happened to the collection of watercolors, most meticulously and delicately painted, of all the uniforms of the French Army from private to general which Ben: did himself and which for years decorated a wall in the State House?

Bringing the fruits of his research with him, Ben: sailed for home in 1847. He had been away seven years and it is certainly to be hoped that his father had succeeded, long before, in finding a substitute for the managery in New Orleans. It could never be said of Ben: Poore that he had wasted his time or his parent's money. He had very concrete results to show for his Grand Tour, for in addition to his newspaper articles and the huge mass of historical writings that he had accumulated, he also brought with him copious material and notes that he intended to use in writing a history of France.

It is probable that he went at once to Washington to see his family. There he was caught up into the hectic excitement of a Presidential campaign. Did the elder Poore pull strings again or was Ben:'s prestige in authorship already so high that he was spontaneously selected as the political biographer of the candidate, General Taylor? At all events, he was chosen for this honor and set to work with a zest. The book when finished sold over 80,000 copies, a success which not only was instrumental in putting Taylor in the White House, but also in adding to "Perley's" importance as a writer. Later that year he published a "Life of Louis Phillippe" which was likewise timely and popular.

So here was Ben: Perley Poore in Washington, still

young, he was only 28, with a career behind him more eventful than many men's whole lives. What should he do next? Go to New Orleans and take up that discarded managership of his father? Settle down to serious writing? Go in for journalism again? Return to West Newbury and farm the family acres? Quite typically, he found himself able to work at three out of the four possibilities and in addition he got married.

His bride was a cousin of his, Virginia Dodge of Georgetown, D. C., and they were married in 1849. Two daughters were born to them, to whom they were greatly devoted. It was one of Poore's life-long regrets that he had no son to carry on the name. Fortunately he lived long enough to see his only grand-child, who received the name of Ben: Perley Poore Moseley.

In the same year as his marriage he became the Washington correspondent of the Boston "Argus," the paper for which he had supplied foreign travel and political columns, while he had been in Europe. He also worked on a book "The Early Life of Napoleon" which was published in 1851. Washington life suited him; he enjoyed being "in the know" of political and diplomatic manœuvring, and his wit and charm made him a welcome visitor in the clubs and the drawing-and dining-rooms of Capitol society. "I never knew a man who could tell a story as well as Ben: Poore," wrote a Washington contemporary of his. However, New England drew him also, for he had an equal love for his ancestral home at Indian Hill. He came to Boston, with his young family and started upon two ill-fated journalistic ventures, publishing first the Boston "Bee" and then the "American Sentinel" of Newburyport. Neither lasted long, the "Sentinel" less than six months. Although Poore certainly knew what a first-class newspaper should be, he seemed to lack the flair for building a mediocre sheet into a great one, or even to keep the mediocre one going. It may be that he realized in time that his talents lay elsewhere and sold out his newspaper interests without having become too deeply involved in them.

In 1854, he was back in Washington again as correspondent for the Boston "Journal" and a group of other papers,

and doubtless settling into Capitol life once more with pleasure and enthusiasm. The newspaper work was not too exacting; he had time for other activities as well. He was Clerk of the Senate Committee on Printing, and later served in a similar position in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Those two clerkships gave him the inside view on diplomatic and domestic affairs which so much intrigued him, but at the same time in no way enmeshed him actively in politics. Parenthetically, *could* two such occupations as journalist and Senate clerk be combined nowadays in one individual? Aside from the time-limitation which would make it almost impossible to give adequate coverage to either, could any modern, news-hungry columnist be trusted with the secrets and confidential information of these two highly important committees? It speaks well for Poore's discretion and integrity that he could be thus employed. Evidently no "leaks" from these committees were ever found in his articles.

It was in 1856 that the most publicized event of Poore's life took place. He supported the Whig party in the election of that year, and had confidence enough in his candidate's strength in New England to bet with Col. R. J. Burbank that if Millard Fillmore did not carry Massachusetts, he would push a wheelbarrow of apples from Indian Hill to Boston. To his amazement and chagrin, John C. Fremont ran ahead of Fillmore in *all* the New England States. Col Burbank was a good sport; he sent a messenger post-haste to Indian Hill to tell Poore that the bet was off. Poore was a good sport likewise. Before the messenger arrived he had taken to the road, wheelbarrow, apples and all. He started over the Newburyport turnpike November 5th; word spread of his exploit and in the two and a half days of his Marathon the question on everyone's lips was "Will he get there?" Today a series of runners would have kept pace with him, chronicling his progress by radio to avid thousands. "Ben's panting—he's wavering. Now he's putting down the barrow and wiping his forehead. Is he through? Is he? No, he's picked up the handles again. He's off." And so on.

Lacking this encouragement or hindrance, interest was

nevertheless keen and when Ben: entered Boston at noon on the seventh, he was met by cheering crowds, a brass band and a detachment of militia, all of which accompanied him with the greatest enthusiasm to the Tremont House where a banquet was served and healths drunk. One might think a bed would have been more acceptable to Ben: at that point, but with his usual courtesy he conformed to the desires of his well-wishers.

This affair made him temporarily famous. It was written up sensationally in the newspapers, the apples sold for prodigious sums and a piece of music entitled "The Wheelbarrow Polka" was dedicated to him. It is evident that he got a mild satisfaction from the remembrance of this exploit, as the wheelbarrow was exhibited for many years among the curios of Indian Hill. It is still kept there.

Although the Poores spent most of the year in Washington, Indian Hill was by no means forgotten. When Congress had adjourned and the President, the Diplomatic Corps and the society-matrons (all source-material for his columns) had fled from the tropical heat of Washington to cooler climates, the Poores also departed to the peace and serenity of Indian Hill, where all was kept in readiness for their brother's return by his two sisters, Miss Ellen and Miss Louisa.

The months in West Newbury were always joyous ones. Although he had kept all winter a close surveillance on farm affairs and had received a weekly report from his superintendent or Miss Ellen, he could now take the reins of authority into his own hands and ride or walk about the place, discussing crops, live-stock, tree-planting, garden-planning and repairs or additions to the buildings with his farmer, gardener, or carpenter. In Washington he was an author, a journalist, a Government researcher, and a man about town; in West Newbury he was an agricultural expert, an antiquarian and an architect; in both places a sought-after orator and after-dinner speaker. This gives some idea of the remarkable versatility of the man.

Under Poore's supervision the metamorphosis of the house, begun by his father, from a simple New England farmhouse to an English manor of Gothic ancestry, was



INDIAN HILL, WEST NEWBURY, RESIDENCE OF BEN: PERLEY POORE

continued. It was, and still is, a fantastic, a unique and a fascinating place. Long, low and rambling, its brick facade is broken by gables, turrets, pillars, balconies and porticoes; steep sloping roofs shelter leaded casement windows and tall carved oak doors. The white-washed walls are covered with luxuriant vines. Above the roofs on a tower, a calm clock-dial looks down, and higher still a copper weather-vane in the shape of an Indian aiming an arrow from a bow, turns in the wind. Another Indian, formerly a ship's figurehead, red-painted, grim-visaged and somewhat larger than life, glowers at the house from a pavilion across the drive.

In Maj. Poore's time the gardens were famous. From the green lawns near the house, a wide grass path bordered with vivid beds of perennial flowers mounted to a summer-house at the top of the hill. This retreat, on clear days, commanded a magnificent view across the wide, marshy West Newbury meadows to the common pastures of Newburyport, to that town itself and its almost deserted harbor and beyond them to the blue Atlantic. Sometimes even the fair-distant Isles of Shoals could be seen, vague and misty, like enchanted islands that might vanish in a moment.

Near the summer-house was a Lodge used by the local Masonic Commandery as a meeting-place. It was composed of evergreens enclosing a square space where the Masonic altar stood. Maj. Poore himself was a 33d degree Mason and also had the position of Sovereign Grand Inspector-General of the Southern Jurisdiction.

It was on the top and sides of this hill that Maj. Poore set out over a thousand trees, in competition for a prize offered by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for the best plantation of thirty acres, to be judged five years after planting. Among them were sixteen varieties of oaks and a fine row of chestnuts. Poore first experimented in planting the trees in the French manner, in trenches that would hold water, but in the severe New England winter the water froze and killed the small saplings. Undaunted, Poore set out another thousand the next year which grew and flourished. For this exploit he received

the prize of a thousand dollars with which he purchased silverware. All his many premiums which he gained from his displays of live-stock, horticultural showings and agricultural experiments were invested in this manner.

Poore was always experimenting. He drained a marshy, unproductive field which experts said could never be used for anything but pasturage, and raised from it a notable crop of potatoes, which he sent to New Orleans for sale; he cross-bred cattle; he tried different methods of barn-sanitation; he went in for crop-rotation long before such ideas had been accepted by the most advanced farmers; he even sent to England for an expert thatcher and had some of his smaller farm-buildings thatched, but he concluded that the expense and the danger of fire made that procedure impractical for him.

Behind the house, at the foot of the hill, is the great white barn built to hold 150 tons of hay as well as the herd of Durham and white short-horned cattle which Poore raised. At one time, my mother has told me, all the animals on the estate were white, cows, horses, pigs, hens even dogs and cats. That must have been before Maj. Poore's day, however, as his black Morgans were famous throughout the countryside.

It is interesting to know in these benighted days, that all this extensive property of Poore's was taxed in 1857, for \$80.32.

From the romantic appearance of the house on the outside, one would expect the inside to be quite out of the ordinary, but no matter how high one's expectations may have soared the reality must have surpassed imagination. The panelled entrance-hall was hung with family-portraits, while Indian relics and curious mementoes of all sorts including a suit of armor, stood against the walls. A small gallery encircled the hall and a graceful staircase led up to it. From the hall other rooms in a seemingly endless chain opened out, all filled with a truly fabulous collection of antiques and relics. Long before the general public had become interested in such things, Maj. Poore was scouting about the country both in New England and the South, to pick up unique or beautiful articles or those with historic

associations; with these he furnished and decorated the house. Among the many things it contained were paneling from the Province House and the John Hancock house in Boston, a fireplace from the old Stuyvesant house in New York, and another from a residence of the first Napoleon. A chandelier of solid silver had once swung in an old Swiss church, and another had shed candlelight on the deliberations held in the first Senate chamber in Washington. A handsome staircase in the "Colonial Room" had been rescued from the old Tracy house in Newburyport when that mansion was reconstructed as a public library. One of the show-pieces was a bed which had belonged to Napoleon Bonaparte, massive and ornate, in what we now call the "sleigh" style and decorated with large gilt eagles. There were pieces of furniture and china which had been used in the White House by every President from Madison to Lincoln; there was even a set of chairs which had belonged to Washington. A plain wooden chair which had made the voyage from England in the *Mary and John* along with Newbury's first settlers was displayed and also a desk which had belonged to John Quincy Adams. Another desk and chair had come with the chandelier from the old Senate chamber.

Not all Maj. Poore's discoveries had such illustrious backgrounds. There is a sad story in my family which concerns the large cradle in which my great-grandfather and his twin brother were rocked. An aunt of my mother, when the family was absent, decided to get rid of some of the "trash" in the attic and the trash included the cradle. As she stood on her door-step bargaining with the purchaser, Maj. Poore happened along in his carriage. "How much will you take for the cradle?" he asked. She named a price. "Done" he agreed and drove off with his prize while the dealer stood open-mouthed. Great was the lamentation later on when the family found out what Aunt Sarah had done. Doubtless Maj. Poore would have sold back the cradle if asked, but family pride forbade requesting such a favor. I rather wonder why he wanted it anyway.

Indian Hill must have been a delightful place when the

Poores were in residence. From the tallest of the elaborate chimneys to the smallest flower in the perennial border, the place radiated order, beauty and an easy, informal hospitality. The corps of house-servants were negroes who moved back and forth from Washington to West Newbury with the family, but the men employed about the place were nearly all from the surrounding towns. At particularly busy times the Major had as many as forty people working for him. The house was generally full of guests, frequently very distinguished ones, and the ritual observed for their entertainment was much the same as that one reads of as provided for the visitors in English country-houses such as a walk about the garden and to the top of the hill to enjoy the view; an inspection of the barn and livestock and of the particular experiment that the Major was interested in at the time; a drive about the country and especially a tour of the house conducted by the host himself, to show and explain his collections. The visitor was sure to see the amazing assortment of over 2000 autographs and be told the story of how Maj. Poore became interested in acquiring them, the initial one having been given him when he was a boy by old Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage. The replica of an old printing-office was also shown, where the principle object was a primeval printing-press once used by Ben Franklin himself. Nor would the Indian room be forgotten with its unrivalled showing of arrow-heads, weapons and cooking and planting implements, some of which had been picked up in the West Newbury fields. The old Colonial kitchen, the rare china pieces and the shelves of valuable books in the owner's library all were proudly exhibited. This tour of the house might take one hour or several, depending on whether the guest's interest was merely politely perfunctory or genuinely enthusiastic.

And what entertainments, festivals and conferences were provided at Indian Hill each summer! The ploughing-contests when farmers would assemble from all parts of the county to pit their teams against each other; the agricultural meetings to inspect the methods of drainage, barn-sanitation, fertilization and tree-planting, with which Maj.

Poore had been experimenting in a big way; the great Fourth of July celebrations, featured by a dance in the spacious barn cleared for the occasion and by fireworks on the hill; the parades which although held in the town, always had an Indian Hill entry. One year it took the form of three floats picturing the Press, the Plough and the Pew, with all the participants wearing old-time costumes and using old-time accessories. Then there was the magnificent dance given to celebrate Alice Poore's fifteenth birthday; the solemn Masonic meetings; and the gala reception to Generals Burnside and Heth and Senator Anthony, to which the G. A. R. Posts of West Newbury, Newbury and Newburyport were invited.

Perhaps the most spectacular of all these entertainments was the annual encampment of the militia company at West Newbury, known as Ben: Poore's Savages, which took place on the hill. Tents were pitched and long tables set up picnic-fashion. There was a drill which always featured a sort of scouting ritual involving much running, ambushing, war-whooping and gun-firing. I have seen an old print illustrating this event with the tents and uniforms much in evidence, ladies under escort, walking demurely about in crinolines, and—oh, tell-tale touch—! two gentlemen lying utterly relaxed in the foreground with several large beer-kegs displayed near-by. Later, when the Civil War began, Poore's Savages were enrolled as Companies A B and C of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment and gave a good account of themselves.

None of this hospitality and entertaining could have taken place without the unobtrusive but masterly direction of the Major's sister, Miss Ellen. Miss Louisa was an invalid and kept mostly to her room and Mrs. Poore abdicated gracefully as mistress of the Farm in Miss Ellen's favor. She was the presiding genius of the place and quite unconsciously gave it much of its charm. She knew all the routine of the estate, interpreted and directed her brother's instructions and oversaw the work being accomplished when he was absent. She also took much pride and interest in his collections and could explain and describe them quite as learnedly as he could himself. Like

him, she had a witty tongue and a gay, humorous flow of anecdote and reminiscence which delighted everyone who came in contact with her. Her favorite spot in the house was a bay-window which overlooked the entrance-gate, so that no guests could take her unawares; there was always time for her to reach the front door and be there to extend hearty, unhurried greetings as the arrivals descended from their carriages. On hot days in summer, however, she might be found on a shady back-veranda where her tea-table stood.

Miss Ellen's constant shadow was a devoted negro woman Rosa, who was as much a part of the household as any member of the family. Like most old family retainers, she wished always to emphasize the importance and position of her employers. A member of the family has told me of having once heard Rosa in conducting a party of casual tourists about the place proudly display an unremarkable small round table, announce calmly "And this is the self-same table they had the Boston Tea-Party on!"

The Civil War interrupted, but did not seriously affect the Poores' pleasant and regular routine. In spite of his Southern connections Poore's sympathies were ardently with the North in the conflict, and he was a great admirer of Lincoln. He also was a devoted friend of Charles Sumner. Elected Major of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, his term of service was short. In less than six months he was detached from his command and sent to Washington where he did special correspondent work for the President and other officials.

After the war, Poore returned to his former life in Washington and West Newbury. Besides his journalistic work he always had other writing to do, and usually some governmental research also, which sounds extremely dull, but which he performed with characteristic thoroughness and accuracy. In these years he published, among other books, a record of the Conspiracy Trial of Booth and His Co-conspirators; an account of the Impeachment Proceedings against President Johnson; a biography of General Burnside and one of General Grant. President Arthur asked him to write a campaign biography of him, but as

his party did not re-nominate him that project fell through. In 1886, the year before his death, Poore brought out "Perley's Reminiscences or Sixty Years in the National Capitol." That last book is one of the most unusual volumes of memoirs I have ever read, for the first personal pronoun, as referring to the author, is almost never used. In the many pages of these two fat volumes Poore seldom hints at Capitol scandal, and when he does he is never explicit, instead he is tantalizingly vague. The book is full of delightful stories of the great and the near-great and shows history in a very light and unconventional aspect. A particularly noteworthy detail is the vivid and meticulous description which he gives of the ladies' gowns at the Washington functions—he certainly had an eye for dress. The book is very good reading even now.

The Government work which occupied Poore at this time was first a Congressional directory; he then compiled a collection of State and Federal charters and a political register (whatever that is). In 1885, he made a survey of United States treaties and then issued a descriptive catalogue of Government publications. All this meant a tremendous and painstaking amount of research and revision—how Poore ever found time to do all this work is a mystery.

His family life changed in these years. He lost his younger daughter Emily after a long and weary illness. His other daughter Alice married Frederick S. Moseley of Newburyport, and died not long after. Maj. Poore was devoted to this child of his and a letter written at the time of her engagement shows his affection for her and his pleasure at her choice of a husband, even through the conventional and formal phrasing of the sentences. The letter follows:

Washington, D. C.
February 28, 1880.

My dear Mr. Moseley,

Yours of the 25th inst. was received last night, and its enclosure for my daughter was delivered.

I will frankly say that the approval of the engagement of our young people, by you and Mrs. Moseley gives great pleasure to Mrs. Poore and myself. Since your son's attentions to

Alice have been marked, we have naturally observed him closely, and everything we have seen or heard concerning him has warranted our entrusting her happiness into his keeping, provided that he had the sanction of his parents. Now that that has been so heartily given, I hope that a long era of happiness has been opened to them, in which we can all participate. Alice is a devoted, obedient daughter, and I feel assured that she will make a good wife.

Mrs. Poore, who is now in the doctor's hands with the prevalent influenza, sends her kindest regards to Mrs. Moseley and yourself, in which I cordially join.

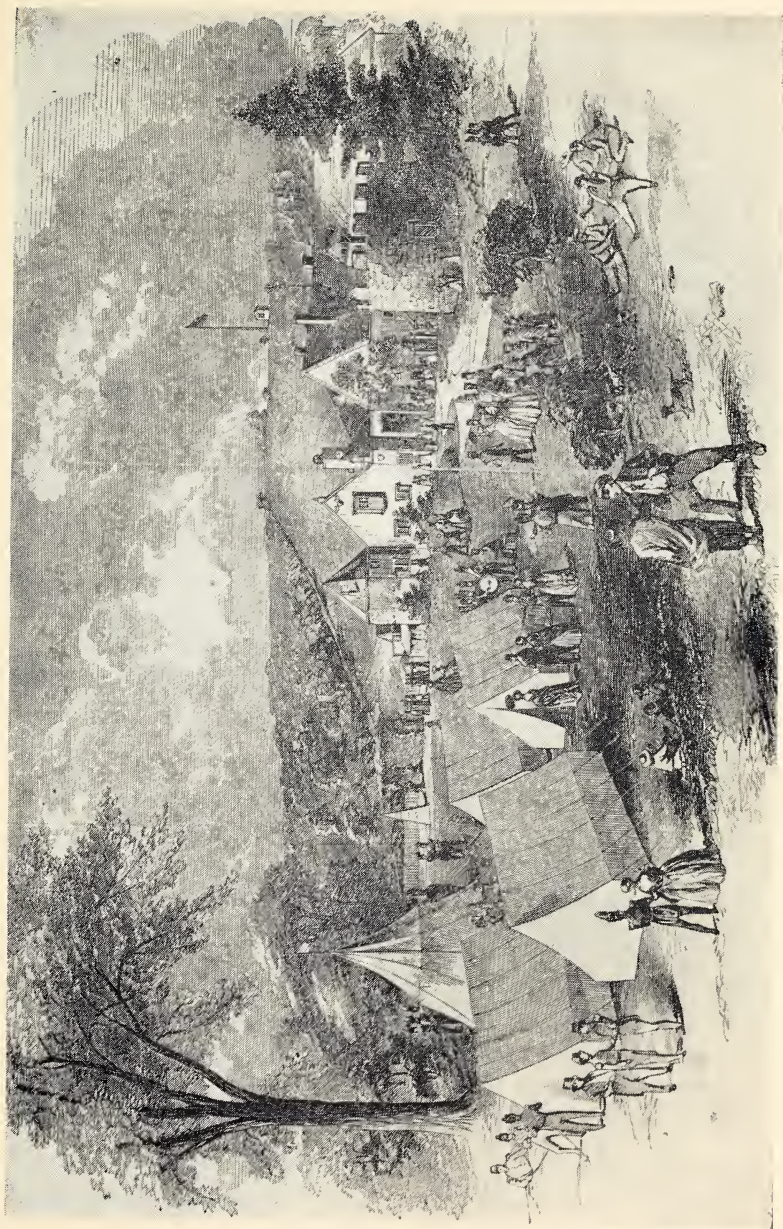
Very faithfully yours,
Ben: Perley Poore.

Hon. Edward S. Moseley
Newburyport.

Alice's wedding was one of the most elaborate and brilliant functions ever given at Indian Hill, and it was also one of the last held during Poore's life-time. After the pageant of the wedding and the gayety that followed it were over, bonfires blazed out at the top of the hill as the married couple drove away on their honeymoon.

Up to the time of his death, Poore occupied himself with Washington activities and the usual routine of his West Newbury life. He was still vigorous and active before his final illness, an attack of pneumonia, from which he died on May 30, 1887. He was buried in the Walnut Hill cemetery in West Newbury. His wife, who survived him for six years, is also buried in that little country cemetery.

In spite of the tragic shadows that clouded his last years, Poore must have had on the whole a singularly happy life. He had the good fortune to grow up in a household where the stern discipline, so prevalent in the families of the early nineteenth century, was tempered by understanding, wise instruction and considerable liberty. Moreover, he and his father shared many of the same interests and were devoted friends. His married life was extremely felicitous; his wife's influence and help were always ready, never obtrusive. He had ample means, he was always occupied with work that he enjoyed, his interests were varied so that he never had occasion to become bored with what he was doing and his social contacts were congenial and stim-



ENCAMPMENT OF THE RIFLE GUARD AT INDIAN HILL, WEST NEWBURY, ON JULY 4, 1853

ulating. Most important of all, he had the temperament to delight in these advantages and to realize his good fortune in possessing them.

In appearance Poore was a man of large frame with a long bushy beard, twinkling blue eyes and a fair complexion. He could be very brusque and gruff, he could also be most kindly and sympathetic. His humor was quick and keen, so that he was often in demand as toastmaster at banquets and ceremonies. He had charming simplicity of manner which, combined with his dignity and *savoir faire*, made him the perfect representative of West Newbury and Newburyport when distinguished visitors came to these places. Both towns were proud to have such prominent sons as Ben : Perley Poore and Caleb Cushing to act as hosts, to introduce these important strangers to the public at open meetings and to entertain them afterwards. Perhaps the most important person to be thus chaperoned by Maj. Poore was George Peabody, when that great financier and philanthropist came to Newburyport on one of his few American visits.

The more I have learned about Ben : Perley Poore the more I have marvelled at the mystifying fact that, in spite of his outstanding characteristics and abilities, he is now an all-but-forgotten figure. The wheelbarrow episode is sometimes recalled nowadays, and surely his memory must be kept green at the Gridiron Club in Washington, which he founded, but to the world in general he is almost completely unknown, even in his own village of West Newbury.

And why should this be? His character was colorful and original; he was at least as good a writer as the majority of the authors of that day; he was an outstanding agriculturist and conservationist when such matters were just beginning to be discussed; he performed remarkable services for the Government and he was a popular and respected person wherever he was known.

Perhaps the reason is that he belonged so completely to the middle years of the nineteenth century, not only in age, but in spirit, that the impression he made on the contemporary scene was soon erased by the crowding events of the modern world. The figures of that era which survive

in present historical writing, are chiefly the clever politicians, the great captains of industry and the giants of the financial world. However, it is well for us to remember that there were, in those days, men like Ben: Perley Poore who served their country gladly in all ways that were open to them, who cherished its past and worked continually to help develop for it a noble future.

Should not his memory be kept bright, at least in his own corner of this nation, his well-beloved Essex County?

JOHN DERBY'S COACH

Philadelphia April 22.d 1803

Mr. John Derby

Sir

Yours of the 18 ins. is received you have been advised that the Coachee ordered has been bespoke the alterations you direct are given to the workman and will be so finished.

Yours in haste

John Stillé & Co.

The Coach maker says the lining of the Coachee will have a bad effect on a Tea Ground the color of the body you will have time to alter it if you think proper.

The Coach maker says the Carriage will be ready for shipping in 10 days.

Yours Respectfully

John Stillé & Co.

Philadelphia July 12th 1803

Mr. John Prince Junr.

Sir

Enclosed you have George Simpsons Draft in your & Mr. John Derbys favour on the Office of Discount & Deposit for Three Thousand & forty Dollars & Sixty Cents which with the Amount of Mr. Derbys Carriage Nine Hundred Fifty Nine Dollars & forty Cents will make Four Thousand Dollars being the amount of monies out for Sales of Brandy by the Java

We are Sir

Yours Respectfully

John Stillé & Co.

—*Derby Papers Vol. XVII Page 6, 8, 10.*



MRS. JOSHUA CARTER, AGED 80, AND HER GRAND-
DAUGHTER, ANNA THAXTER REYNOLDS, AGED 6, 1847

JAMES DUNCAN AND SON

MERCHANTS, CAPITALISTS, AND CHAIN STORE OPERATORS

By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

(Continued from Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 18)

In 1783 to 1790, the leading merchants of Haverhill were said to be John White, James Duncan, Isaac Osgood, Benjamin Willis, and James Duncan, Jr.,¹ and that fits in very well with an entry in the diary of that lively young niece of President John Adams who was visiting John White's daughter in 1784. She and Mr. and Mrs. White were sitting down for a quiet afternoon when her cousin J. Q. Adams dropped in, soon followed by Mr. David Sears and Mr. Burgess of Boston and Mr. Marquand of Newburyport.² Miss Peggy White came and made tea and soon after tea old Mr. Duncan and Mr. Osgood came in. It would seem that a conference of the business talent of Boston, Haverhill and Newburyport was in the making. Betty observes "Upon one side sat a company of Gentlemen engaged in the conversation most interesting and entertaining to themselves—all in the mercantile style." Mr. White had evidently assembled the senior merchants of Haverhill to meet the out-of-town delegation. Mr. David Sears then kept a store on State Street, Boston,³ but he was interested also in placing ventures on vessels out of Salem and Newburyport. As a corollary to this he could not fail to be interested in the up-country trade of the Haverhill merchants as an outlet for his imports.

Later evidence seems to indicate that the first vessel of James Duncan & Son was the brigantine *Betsy*, Moses Brown, Master,⁴ which preceded the *Polly* built in Haverhill.⁵ The *Betsy* was built in Salisbury and cost over all in 1774, £975-7-2¾, whereas the *Polly*, finished at Haver-

1 Chase: Haverhill, p. 451.

2 Journal of Elizabeth Cranch, Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXXX, p. 19.

3 See Independent Chronicle, May 16, 1783.

4 Ship Book at Haverhill Historical Society.

5 See E. I. H. C., LXXXVIII, p. 9.

hill, cost £480 for the hull in January, 1775. The *Betsy* sailed on her second voyage in November, 1774, and the *Polly* on her first in June, 1775. When the *Betsy* got home in October 1774, the voyage, which from the cargo of molasses, etc., was evidently to the West Indies, showed a loss of £140-19-2 and it cost £474-5-10 to outfit her for the second voyage. A little later James Duncan & Son owned and insured the ship *Brothers*⁶ bound for Martinico.

They must have been pretty active for we find them as insurers of many vessels out of Newburyport. For instance, in the first three months of 1780 they took insurance on the following vessels at the rates listed:

Brigantine *Batchelder* to Guadeloupe for £300 at £60%

Brigantine *Sally* to Point Petre for £300 at £40%

Sloop *Unity* to Point Petre for £400 at £40%

Ship *Monmouth* to Guadeloupe for £200 at £70%

Schooner *Eagle* to Guadeloupe for £200 at £35%

The *Monmouth* was certainly a privateer and probably the *Batchelder* was also. The rates were ruinous and practically amounted to selling an interest in the vessel if she got home. The French Islands in the Leeward Group were in a dangerous locality but the Duncan firm were good choosers and all the vessels got home so they cleared £670, no small sum in those days.⁷ Their willingness to insure was a pretty good indication that other men were doing them the same favor so they must have had considerable property afloat. On March 7, 1782, James, Senior, valued his half of the partnership at £536-5-7 which was a very substantial amount. This must have been largely involved in the overseas trade for he estimates in addition for debts receivable, notes on hand, cash and goods £2329-4-¾ and real estate of £1900.⁸ There is no evidence when James, Junior, joined the firm but it was the custom of the time to take in sons when they came of age, and that would have been in 1777. There is evidence that the distillery

⁶ See Facsimile of the policy facing p. 8, E. I. H. C., LXXXVIII.

⁷ See Newburyport Marine Policy Book No. 2 bound in white vellum at E. I.

⁸ List of The Whole Amount of what James Duncan is possessed of, March 7, 1782. Family Papers.

and the Haverhill store remained outside the partnership which included only the general trading at first.

The following letter from James, Senior, to his sons Samuel and Robert in Concord, N. H., is interesting as showing methods of trade and the necessity of scouring the country for goods. Evidently sugar, lemons, and rum, the makings of a good punch, were very important items of trade.

Haverhill, May 31, 1786

My Son by your temster I have sent you 2 Barralls of
N E Rum $\begin{matrix} 32\frac{1}{2}) \\ 32 \end{matrix}$ $\left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\}$ 64½ Gallons 2 cases Janeva of Mr.

Statens at 33/ per Case including Excise 20 Gallons Brandy I bought of Capt Willis⁹ 4 Loaves of Sugar 4 lb of tea 12 lb of Coffee. as to West Indie Rum I could not Get one Gallon that was Good in haverhill we could Gate one Barral in Newburyport But must have Haired a man to goon for it and Stooped your team 2 days and pd 4/6 per Gallon which we think you may get Cheper in Concord then that would cost as to Lemons we have sent to Newbury Salem and Boston But Can Gete none that will answer any purpose as they are culls Len and Very Dear and Bad we sent a horse Cart to Boston last week for Lemons and Loaf Sugar but Mr. . . . ys had none by him and we have Borrod what we Send. We hear Will^m is in Boston and Suppose if any Lemons or West Inde is Coming that he will supply you Capt Willis had the remender of your Board that Came Down which mad in all to him 4523 feet marchble and 990 feet Refuse which he told me would Just Ballance his Demands

Marcht^{bl} by us in all 49926 Refuse 11556 ft. I suppose by the Live to be at Concord to see you next wick in best With love to all my children I rest your father
James Duncan

N. B. I have sent 2 Barrall Rum more to make up the Load which I would have you Store for us whilst I com

9 Capt. (Benjamin) Willis 1743-1811, Sea Captain, Merchant, Commanded Privateer Brig *Betsy* 1780. Lived in Charleston till 1776, later in Haverhill. Grandfather of Mary Willis who married James H. Duncan, grandson of James, Senior.

up Except you can take the money at 1/9 per gallon and pay for the B B and Cask J. D.

Gage 32 $\frac{1}{4}$

31 $\frac{1}{4}$

Robert and Samuel were the two sons who later settled in Grantham and just why they had paused in Concord is not clear, but they were citizens there in 1785 and Robert was stuck with the job of hog reeve at the March town meeting.¹⁰ Perhaps Samuel who had married Hannah Emerson, December 24, 1783, in Haverhill, had already gone on to Grantham for his first child is reported as born in Grantham, October 1, 1784,¹¹ and was just in Concord temporarily. Another bit of evidence is that his father seems to have owned a 60-acre lot in Grantham in March 1782.¹² Their brother William was settled permanently in Concord and had married Dolly Harris, the daughter of an Englishman who came to Portsmouth in 1751 and married Mehitable Rogers. He became a rich merchant, owning at least the ship *Alligator* and probably others.¹³ He probably established William in business and by 1786 William, who had been a Continental Soldier, was a Major in the Militia and had bought pew No. 13 in the Meeting House.¹⁴

The question of what Samuel and Robert were doing in Concord and when they went to Grantham has a bearing on when the Duncan firm started their store in Lebanon. James Duncan, Senior, had become interested in Grantham when he bought from his brother's son George of Londonderry, six rights in the proprietor's claim which by 1782 had been defined as 60 acres worth £60.¹⁵ By 1787, he held notes of Samuel and Robert for £158 which might indicate that he had turned over to them the land and advanced money to build a house. Son John was also in Grantham for he had apparently moved up there from

¹⁰ Concord N. H., Town Records 1732-1820, p. 22, Concord, 1894.

¹¹ Family Records, Reynolds genealogy.

¹² Paper: "Whole Amount of what James Duncan is Possessed of." in the Family Papers.

¹³ Letters of Mrs. Mary Duncan Weed, June 1, 1951.

¹⁴ Concord Town Records, pp. 229, 323.

¹⁵ Deed and list of J. D.'s property.

Connecticut and the father also loaned him £182 in August, 1787.

Whether the arrival of the boys followed or preceded it, the Duncans are credited with establishing the first store in Lebanon and it must have been started about 1787. The upper Connecticut valley was filling up with settlers and the store grew up with the country. It is said that about 1790 the Duncans shipped by ox cart \$90,000 worth of goods to that store in twenty-six months.¹⁶ There was also started at Lebanon or Grantham works for extracting potash and a mill for grinding flaxseed. Flax was then a great crop in the Merrimack valley and was no doubt starting along the Upper Connecticut. It is said the linen industry of North Ireland was started with flaxseed from the Merrimack Valley. It is probable that there was a branch store at Haverhill, New Hampshire, also, for the broadside put out by the Lebanon store sometime in the '90s mentions goods "for sale at his stores in Haverhill and Lebanon (New Hampshire)"¹⁷ which is rather ambiguous. It seems likely because in 1806, James, Junior, still had considerable lands in Warren and Wentworth which were managed through Haverhill, New Hampshire, and might have been acquired in payment for bad accounts at the Haverhill store which was not then operating.

There were two Haverhill, (Mass.) men by the name of Ela, who had married sisters of Hannah Emerson (the widow of Samuel and now wife of Robert Duncan) and mention of them in the papers suggest they may have been clerks or even managers of the Lebanon store or Haverhill store if any.

The hand-bill offers for sale all sorts of English goods, cloths of all sorts, shawls, ribbons, gloves, buttons, hardware, crockery, pewter, groceries of all sorts, and "New England RUM warranted good." It offers to buy or exchange for Salts made of Lyes, Pot and Pearl Ashes, Bees-Wax, Tallow, Beef, Pork and every kind of country produce.

¹⁶ Chase: Haverhill, p. 452.

¹⁷ See facsimile in E. I. H. C., LXXIX, facing p. 8.

It was becoming apparent that the younger Duncan, now over thirty, very ambitious and well-trained in business affairs, was taking the leading part and that his father, well over sixty, inclined to go slowly. Much they both owned was in the partnership at the risk of the business and no doubt the older man, as is the nature of men of sixty, wanted a more secure, if probably less profitable, position. The government of the nation was just changing from the old confederation to the federal republic, and any governmental change, however beneficial, produces for the moment confusion in business. Anyway, an agreement was drawn up January 29, 1789, to terminate the partnership. The younger man assumed all the debts and obligations and received all the assets excepting the furniture and equipment of the house, cattle and farm equipment, and debts due to the partnership on notes from various sons of the old gentleman. The son was to live in the house as usual till May 1.¹⁸ It may be that the date of this agreement is 1789 old style which would be 1790 new style, the year when the younger man was married.

Apparently the partnership never included the real estate so the old gentleman retained the store and distillery property and all the sundry lots of land he owned in Haverhill and elsewhere; but James, Junior, got the ships, the stock in trade in warehouses in Newburyport, Haverhill, and Lebanon all accounts receivable and current cash, merchandise afloat or in foreign ports¹⁹ and all other assets.

The old gentleman evidently considered those notes of his sons up-country were friendly affairs of his own and not to be pressed and apparently none were ever paid. He was a kind and generous man, but punctilious and fair in his dealings and well loved by all his children. In 1782, he had estimated his property worth £5466-12-11. Of that £1900 was in real estate figured at about a third of its real value; £2329 was in book debts, notes and accounts receivable, goods, etc., as per his ledgers; and £536

¹⁸ Agreement in the Family Papers.

¹⁹ Except that by a special agreement the father agreed to assume half the loss of an especially valuable consignment of thirty-three barrels of pot and pearl ashes then on the way to London if they should be lost.



HOMESTEAD OF ROBERT AND SAMUEL DUNCAN IN GRANTHAM, N. H.

(Three miles northeast of Meriden Village)

in his share "in the partnership with my son James;" the rest were debts from the other sons. This estimate was made in anticipation of making a will, but things must have changed greatly by the time the partnership was dissolved and it seems strange that all his notes and accounts receivable were not in the partnership account.

It is pretty clear that from the middle of the Revolution the driving force in the business had been the son. He was no more than medium height, but spare, erect, and alert. He was fair and honorable in his dealings, shrewd, thrifty and efficient but rather impetuous and worked a great deal harder than most men. Luck and influence usually come from the capacity and inclination to do hard work. He was respected rather than popular for there is no evidence that he spent much time cultivating the graces of life. He never went to college, but the schools of Haverhill must have done well for him. His handwriting was more than good, it was large, clear and beautiful in the extreme, not with ornamental flourishes but with the simplicity which is truly elegant. He appreciated education fully and sent his sons to Exeter and to Harvard.

The writer can only identify three little books in his library that bear the signature of James Duncan, Junior, and they are rather unexpected, especially as from the dates he evidently acquired them after he grew up. There is a translation of *Aphorisms On Man* by Rev. John Caspar Lavater of Zurich which has evidently been read and marked, *The Book of Conversation and Behaviour* written by a person of distinction, and finally *Advice from a Lady of Quality to her Children* translated from the French. These would seem to indicate that the hard fisted man of business wisely realized that the amenities of conduct were important.

By 1787, the Duncan household had settled down. James, Senior, had married the estimable Hannah Greenleaf of Newburyport, in September 1786, who was his third and last wife with whom he was to live quietly for the next twenty-seven years. The daughters Elizabeth and Margaret were now respectively twenty and eighteen years old. John Thaxter, who, as the saying was, had been

addressing Betsy Duncan for some years, was now engaged to her and when his friend John Quincy Adams, who was studying law with Theophilus Parsons in Newburyport, came up to Haverhill they often dined at the hospitable Duncan house. James, Junior, was still an unattached bachelor and the house seemed to be a meeting place for the young people. Mr. Adams found his cousins Nancy Quincy and Betty Cranch who were up from Braintree there one day. It is a disappointment to find that John Quincy does not give us his picture of the character of Betsy Duncan as he was prone to do of many of his young lady friends. It was probably because she was already engaged to his friend Thaxter. They were, in fact, married that autumn and a few weeks after the marriage, he casually remarks "Mrs. Thaxter has got two or three wrinkles on her forehead."²⁰

It might be said in passing that Adams was also a frequent visitor at the Greenleaf household in Newburyport and that of Nathaniel Carter whose son Joshua was to marry Betsy Duncan Thaxter when she became a widow.²¹

The way the people got about from place to place in those days is surprising. The young men all rode horse-back apparently and often rode from Haverhill or Newburyport to Boston in a day which was well over forty miles. They seemed to be able to borrow or hire a horse most anywhere and could leave it at a tavern to bring some other person back. The ladies of means did not run around so much and if they did, went in their own carriages. On pleasure jaunts it was not unknown for young men to take young ladies buggy, or rather chaise riding even in those days. For the longer journeys the ladies used the public stages. There were two each week which came through Newburyport from Portsmouth for Boston, but the trouble was they were often full before they reached Newburyport. The same was true of the stage that came through Haverhill from Portland and Exeter, but there was usually a casual local stage which ran from Haverhill to Boston.

²⁰ Diary of John Quincy Adams, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Nov. 1902, pp. 332, 333, 351.

²¹ Silhouettes of Joshua Carter and Elizabeth Duncan in E. I. H. C. LXXXVII p. 330.

The wealthier young men like Leonard White of Haverhill and no doubt James Duncan, must have kept very good horses and more than one, for they did not hesitate to leave for an Assembly in Salem at five or six in the afternoon and return at four a.m. Nor did weather seem to interfere greatly with their plans. One can but admire the rugged health which was required to stand this sort of thing several times a month. In winter sleighing was a convenient method of getting about and allowed the added advantage of taking a young lady.²²

James, Junior, married January 26, 1790, Rebekah White, the daughter of Samuel White and Sarah Brown of Reading. "Squire White," as he was usually called, used to ride about town in a red cloak on a white horse and was a rich and leading citizen. He lived on the corner of Merrimack and Main Streets till his house was burned in the fire of 1775, when he moved back to the White homestead on Mill Street. He was a Justice of the Peace, Representative in the General Court and Delegate to the first Provincial Congress which defied General Gage by meeting in Salem, October 7, 1774.

We get just one glimpse of James and Rebekah²³ in a personal diary on December 29, 1789—"Set out from Boston for Hav'll. Snow about 11 o'clock very fast. Reach^d Jones' (Probably at Reading) about three and stayed all night. Snow 18 inches deep. Dec. 30—in the morning set out from Jones' with my Chaize and came a mile and a half then left my chaize and took slay. Got to Hav'll abt 6 o'clock. Passed the river at the sands. No ice to obstruct the boat with Miss W." The little diary does not mention the wedding a month later but passing through a lot of entries about planting peas, breeding cows, and even, July 4, "Black sow had pigs," we reach December 18—"Samuel White Duncan born about half past seven in the morning."

Rebekah was two years older than James, Junior, but she outlived him by many years and her oldest grand-

²² See Diary of J. Q. Adams, M. H. S. Proc., Nov. 1902; Journal of Eliz. Cranch, E. I. H. C., Jan. 1944.

²³ Fleet's Pocket Almanac for 1789, interleaved, at Haverhill Public Library.

daughter, whom the present writer knew, could just remember her. She died November 4, 1838.²⁴ The spelling of *Rebekah* is from her own autograph confirmed by the Duncan tomb in the Pentucket Cemetery. (The White Genealogy and many books spell it *Rebecca* which is incorrect.) There seems to be no picture of Rebekah, but the tradition is that she was a small, very energetic lady and the title "The Old Lady" by which she was known among all her grandchildren would imply a punctilious person of considerable dignity.

When Rebekah joined the Duncan family it consisted of James Duncan, Senior, and his third wife, Hannah Greenleaf, whom he had married four years before, and Peggy, the unmarried daughter, who did not marry Thomas Baldwin till December 1, 1812. Tradition has it that James, Junior, and Rebekah did not join the big household, but occupied a small house up the lane above his father's house. This is confirmed by the assessment list of 1798,²⁵ which shows James, Senior, living in a house assessed at \$1,400 (there were but five more valuable in town) while James, Junior, lived in a house belonging to David Marsh which was just above his father's.²⁶

James and Rebekah had three children; Samuel White, born December 18, 1790; James Henry, born December 5, 1795; and a little girl who did not live. James went to Exeter Academy, then Harvard where he graduated in 1812, while Samuel got a degree at Harvard in 1810. It would appear then that about 1805, Rebekah would have been preparing to bring her two attractive sons to the attention of Haverhill society. No report is extant just what happened, but probably James, Junior, was building the beautiful home on Main Street which later became the Eagle House while James, Senior, remained in the smaller house up the lane where he always lived.

Right off, in January 1805, the kitchen of the new home was equipped with a full set of the "Rumford

²⁴ Descendants of William White of Haverhill, by D. A. White, pp. 23, 27.

²⁵ Chase: Haverhill, p. 470.

²⁶ See also *Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of Haverhill*, Boston, 1895, I, p. 40.

Works." These were the elaborate spits, bakers, broilers, etc., invented by Count Rumford for cooking before an open fire and cost over \$100. All during the year the purchases went on—yards and yards of carpeting, wall papers, furniture covering, all sorts of other materials for furnishing the house. Then came furniture; sideboards, tables, bureaus, and chairs at extraordinarily low prices. Then there were tea cups and glasses and even a brass fender. It all added up to over \$700 which was surely very cheap but this was not the end. Next year it began again. Two looking glasses cost \$202.50. Yards and yards of carpet—enough for a room 15 by 18 feet—stair carpeting with brass stair rods, eight fancy chairs, and sofas, with silver creamers and desert ladles, added up to \$750 in the year 1807. Evidently other things were bought of which there are no bills for Rebekah's shopping lists include many more items. These were all bought in Boston. We can safely assume that by the year 1807 James, Junior, and Rebekah were installed in the new mansion, and there James, Junior, lived the rest of his life.²⁷

James Duncan, Junior, had a long and successful career in the militia and was very proud of it and carried his final title of Major the rest of his life. He was a private in the old artillery company started in September, 1774, but which seems to have faded away into the "First Company in Haverhill" of infantry in May 1775.²⁸ How long he served is not evident but by February 1787, he was instrumental with other men in raising a squadron of cavalry to be attached to the Fourth Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex. These men supplied their own horses and paid for all their equipment according to their terms of enlistment.²⁹ The writer owns James Duncan's uniform and horse pistols. This muster roll includes men from Andover, Haverhill, and Bradford. James Duncan was Captain and Timothy Osgood, 1st Lieutenant and Edward Kimball, 2nd Lieutenant, one from each locality, but when it turned out that Andover had the most men, Peter

²⁷ Furnishing bills are all in the Family MSS.

²⁸ Chase: Haverhill, 374-75.

²⁹ Muster roll in Family papers.

Osgood of Andover was made Captain, Duncan of Haverhill and Kimball of Bradford became Lieutenants, and Timothy Osgood, 2nd Sergeant. Shortly after, a separate company was organized in Andover and James Duncan took command of the Haverhill company and so remained till he was commissioned major of both.

We should like to believe that "as Major he commanded the companies of cavalry which escorted Washington from Boston to the New Hampshire line" (Chase: Haverhill, 452), but at that time he was 1st Lieutenant and there was no Major. Washington says "a party of horse with Genl. Titcomb met me and conducted me through Marblehead, etc."³⁰ Probably General Titcomb did not directly command the troop and it is very probable Lieutenant Duncan did.

When he applied for his discharge, it was with great regret. He stated he had served four years as 1st Lieutenant, three years as Captain, and three years as Major, and desired his discharge for the following reasons: "I have been an officer in the squadrons from the first raising of the Company to which I belonged and have expended a considerable sum of money in organizing and bringing forward the Company to a tolerable state of Discipline and my health being such as frequently prevents me from meeting in the Field with the Troops which I have the Honor to Command." This was dated March 15, 1798, and was no doubt soon granted. It went through Brig. Gen. Brickett to Maj. Gen. Stephen Abbott who was well known to Major Duncan and to whom he wrote a friendly letter (all in the Duncan Family Papers), asking his assistance in promoting the discharge.

There is among the family papers one entitled *Proposals for Celebrating the Birthday of the President of the United States* promoted by a committee of six headed by Benjamin Willis, Jr., which included the prominent men like Benjamin Bartlett and Leonard White. They asked for subscription of one dollar each and forty-one men signed. One column of signatures was headed by James Duncan, Jr., the other by Nathaniel Saltonstall, and contained all

³⁰ Washington Diary, Oct. 29, 1789.

the prominent Haverhill names. It should be noted they were celebrating John Adam's birthday October 19, the Federalist attempt to continue the celebration of the governing president after the style of the kings of England.³¹ They fired one gun at sunrise, rang the bells for half an hour, and hoisted the colours. At twelve there was a "discharge of 16 guns after which subscribers and all gentlemen strangers to repair to Harrod's where punch will be ready. At sunset a gun fired and bells rung for fifteen minutes. The evening to be spent at Harrod's where a cold collation will be prepared." The cost of the event is entered on the back of the petition.

paid for use of gun and rammer	£0-3-0
paid for fuze	4-0
paid for sponge	1-0
paid for paper and pad to	0-9
make cartridges	6-0
	<hr/>
	14-9
Jos Harrod's bill	10-11-3
	<hr/>
	11- 9-0
B. Willis for Powder 25th	
Willis for rum	3-14-8
	<hr/>
	£15- 4-8

We do not agree with B. Willis's additions exactly nor, if they raised a total of \$47, can we see how it made £15-4-8. Also Willis forgot to charge for powder but probably the promotor expected to get stuck then as now, and a good time was had by all. As James Duncan's son married Benjamin Willis's daughter a little later, it was rather a family matter.

The very active part of James, Junior's, business life began in the 1780's and extended down to the War of 1812, which seems to have pretty well terminated his career already damaged by Jefferson's wicked Embargo. The

³¹ For Mrs. Adam's wrath at the celebrating of Washington's birthday after he had retired, see *New Letters of Abigail Adams*, ed. S. Mitchell, Boston, 1947, pp. 133, 137.

center of his activities throughout was the store in Haverhill. At the beginning of the period he was doing a business of several thousand pounds a year in goods consigned by Jonathan Jackson, Esq., of Newburyport, but that soon tapered off and the balance was returned in 1783. After that he relied on goods brought in by his own two ships to a large extent. No doubt many of these goods were absorbed as time went on by the Lebanon store. By 1805, there was a lively two-way trade going on. For example, in January 1805, he sent the Lebanon Store 10 bbls N. E. Rum \$195.54; 1 hhd of Molasses 62.15; 1 pipe of Cognac 179.55; 10 bbls 11.67 and credited them with 51 cheeses 78.90; Flax 24.75; Rye 39.37; 9 bbls pork 126. and also cash \$585. He notes the rum was bought from Joshua Carter (his brother-in-law) and billed at an advance of 1c per gallon.

In February he debited the Lebanon store 2 hhds molasses \$121; 1 pipe gin 110; 1 hhd of sugar 121.88; 2 quintals of fish 17; 2 sides of soal (*sic*) leather 7.56; and credited them 5 bbls pork 14; 3 kegs lard 17; Rye 51.37; note 21.

These items gave an idea of the heavy up country trade but not of the cloth, hardware, and other English goods.³² They also show some of the country goods brought back for sale, but there are an unusual number of entries for cash even including gold brought back.

There is very little evidence of the activities of the distillery, but the deeds seem to show that the Duncans bought a larger and larger interest so it must have been successful. It was evidently managed by other members of the group, however, so their papers show little of its activities though it was located directly behind their store on lower Main Street.³³

The shipping business was much more intimately connected with the selling and distribution by the stores. The Duncans as has been said owned the brigs *Polly* and *Betsy* before the Revolution, but it is not clear when they were disposed of. The same may be said of the brig *Brother*,

32 All items from the Haverhill Hist. Soc. Ledger.

33 See plan in E. I. H. C., LXXXVIII, p. 6.

State of New Hampshire.

To the honorable the Senate & House of Representatives in General Court convened. — The undersigned Petitioners beg leave to represent to your Honors that the contemplated Turnpike Road from Concord to the line of Massachusetts in such direction as will be most convenient for travelling to Boston, Salem, Newburyport & Barnstable in the opinion of your Petitioners, would best accommodate the Public by leading thro' Chester, Rumpstead & Plinston: Because your Petitioners state that said route will be the most direct course in which a Road can be made to all the aforesaid Market Towns; & they further state that Turnpike Roads are contemplated & will be made from Barnstable to Boston, to Salem & to Newburyport; wherefore your Petitioners desire that the prayer of the Petition presented to your Honors at your last session, for a Turnpike Road from Concord to Chester may be granted: and your Petitioners further pray that they with those who may hereafter associate with them, may be incorporated into a company with authority to make a Turnpike Road from Chester thro' Rumpstead to the line of Massachusetts in Plinston, where it shall meet the aforesaid Turnpike Roads to Boston, to Salem & to Newburyport & as in duty bound will ever pray. —

Benj: Willis

David Snow
Nehemiah Emerson
Moses Atwood
"Bailey Bartlett"
Donald White
Moses Gile.

Eben: Gage
Abraham Smith
John Harriman
Phineas Foster
Jon: & Carlton
Danis: Smith.
Pier: Wood. —
John: Dyer
Daniel: Giddens

James Duncan Junr.
Dudley Phelps Jr.
C. H. Pierce &
Nathaniel Saltonstall
Kimball Carlton
Charles White
Galen H. Fay

owned for a while around 1779. William Duncan, the brother in Concord, N. H., seems to have started first in the later shipping business and built at Salisbury the ship *Polly* of 191 tons, and the famous ship *Concord* of 171 tons, later sold to William Gray of Salem and then to the Crowninshields. William even hired a warehouse in Haverhill at this time,³⁴ so must have contemplated considerable business there.

Next came the ship *Rebecca*, 248 tons, built at Haverhill, mostly owned by James, Junior, and Moses Brown of Newburyport, and the schooner *Mary Ann* in which James, Junior, had an interest.³⁵

James undoubtedly profited by the ships of brother William and also those of his brother-in-law, Joshua Carter of Newburyport and other Newburyport merchants. He had the great advantage of having his distributing point at the head of navigation on the river and of having a well-developed system of overland transport. In 1804, at least three of his teamsters were of a family of farmers by the name of Johnson who had a farm near Kenoza Lake. They made the round trip to Lebanon in about a month.³⁶

James' most important ship was the *Rebecca* and documents among the Family Papers show clearance from Lisbon, London, and Antwerp on various voyages with returns to Philadelphia and Portland as well as Newburyport. On one trip she brought a lot of emigrants from the Palatinate. On her last trip she was caught by Jefferson's wicked embargo in 1808 in Philadelphia, and was sold there for \$4,500.³⁷ After that, James' only interest in shipping seems to have been a small share in the schooner *Mary Ann* in 1812, possibly a privateer.

James' agent in Newburyport seems to have been William Wyer, a retired ship master.³⁸ He did all sorts of things; collected money, paid bills, bought goods for up country stores, and executed all sorts of commissions. Per-

³⁴ J. Duncan, Jr.; *Fleets Pocket Almanac*, Interleaved, Aug. 13, 1794, at Haverhill Public Lib.

³⁵ Newburyport Ship Registers.

³⁶ Ledger at Haverhill Hist. Soc.

³⁷ Family MS.

³⁸ Letters in Newburyport Hist. Soc.

haps the following letters can give an idea of the merchandise transactions.

Haverhill August 6th 1804

Mr. Wm Wyer Jr

Sir I am in want of One bbl of good retailing Molasses to send to my store in the Country a Strong tight lid is necessary. Also One Hogshead brown Sugar and One Bag good Cotton wool & One Chest good Bohea Tea. If the Sugar & Cotton that came home in the Brig is not otherwise disposed of you may take it out of that Cargo; if it can be done with convenience, the Molasses & Tea you may buy at Sixty days Credit, perhaps Mr. Sam'l Peabody can furnish them, I have sent 8 p'r linnen & 5 bbl Oil, if you think the Oil will not sell in Newburyport, and the Concern don't like to send it out in the Brig, I should like to send it on my own Account on Freight.

Yours tr

Jas. Duncan Jun.

Haverhill October 8, 1804

Mr. Wm. Wyer Jun.

Sir If you will be so kind as to write to Philadelphia for two Iron Backs the One of 40 Inches long and $27\frac{1}{2}$ Inches Wide on the Front side, the other the same length and 29 Inches in Width a suitable thickness, if they can be brought by your Vessell,—do it.

I find by a letter this day received from Capt Low³⁹ that the whole of the Passengers were not disposed off the Alt. If you send for any of them I should like to have Capt Low send me on a Lad about 14 years of Age, and shall write him on the Subject if you will bring him in your Vessell. I am Sir Your Most Afft. Serv't

James Duncan Jun.

It is obvious that Capt. Wyer handled any transaction with regard to the shipping and he also seems to have had a coastwise vessel of his own which helped distribute goods not salable in this vicinity.

James, Junior, was also naturally vitally interested in land transportation and with Samuel White and Samuel

³⁹ The passengers by Capt. Low were not slaves but emigrants from the Rhine, who sold themselves for certain terms to pay their passage money.

Walker, called the first meeting to raise money for the Haverhill Bridge over the Merrimack.⁴⁰ The bridge was not finally opened till 1794, but this group with many others whose aid they solicited stood behind the proposition till success crowned their efforts.⁴¹ At the same time, James' brother William was promoting the building of the lower bridge at Concord, N. H., and they both owned shares in that. There was quite a celebration at the opening of the Concord Bridge and William Duncan, who had become a leading citizen, was Chief Marshall of the parade.⁴²

This question of bridges was closely allied to that of stage lines, especially to the north, and James and William's father-in-law, Robert Harris, seem to have early got interested in that subject. The draft for an announcement of the Concord-Haverhill line is as follows:

New Stage from Concord thro Chester to Hav^l The proprietors of the New Stage from Concord through Chester to Haverhill beg leave to inform the Publick that they have provided a new and Elegant Carriage to Run with four Horses and a Careful Driver who is well acquainted with the business which is to leave Concord at Six O'Clock precisely on Monday Morning the 28th Instant and to Arrive at Chester at One O'Clock on said Day there to Change Horses and go on to Haverhill the same Day.—to leave Haverhill on next Tuesday Morn^g at Six O'Clock and pass through Chester to Concord the same day. to leave Concord on Thursday Morn^g at Six O'Clock and reach Hav^l through Chester same day, and to leave Haverhill Saturday (*sic*) Morn^g at Six O'Clock and return thro Chester to Concord the above Routs will be performed Weekly extraordinaries Excepted until an Alteration shall be agreed on by the proprietors when Notice will be given

As the Proprietors have been at great expense in providing a Suitable Carriage and Horses for the accomdation (*sic*) of Passengers and likewise for repairing the Roads, they Solicit the Patronage of the publick and the Attention of every

40 Haverhill Federal Gazette, Feb. 7, 1789.

41 Family MSS. also Chase: Haverhill, p. 459.

42 N. Bouton: *History of Concord*, Concord 1856, pp. 323, 326, 513; *Concord Town Records*, 1732-1820, Concord 1894, pp. 229, 241.

Citizen in the Towns through which the Stage is to pass to lend their friendly Aid for repairing the Roads and making them better, which will not only accomodate (*sic*) the Stage but also all travellers with Teams Carriages and Sleighs. They likewise, as the Rout is very Difficult to perform in a day beg leave leave (*sic*) in a particular Manner to solicit the friendship of all Teamsters; that they would be so obliging as when they hear the Stage coming to Stop there (*sic*) Teams in some convenient place that the Stage may pass as the Road in many places is so narrow that it is impossible to turn out with 4 Horses in a Carriage without Danger of breaking it the Stage Horses will wear bells to distinguish them from other Carriages—

Concord 26th October 1793—

A separate sheet gives the fares and business arrangements as follows:

Rates of Fare 3d per Mile for Passengers who will be allowed 14^{lb} weight of Baggage and all above must be paid for at the Rate of one penny per pound Weight Newspapers, Letters etc will be carefully conveyed at a Reasonable price

The Proprietors of the above Stage purpose to form a Connexion with a Stage to Run from Haverhill to Boston whereby Passengers may be conveyed from Boston to Concord with great facility and dispatch, Passengers who wish to travel from Concord to Chester & Hav^l are desired to apply to Mr. Rob^t Harris at Concord Mr. Benj Brown at Chester and Mr. Jas. Duncan, Jr. at Haverhill where Books will be kept for the purpose of Entering there (*sic*) Names. those who apply first will have the preference and it is expected the money will be paid at the time of application.

The assurance that Concord passengers could hope to reach Haverhill in a single day contrasts vividly with the ease with which we expect to make the run in a couple of hours. Also the cooperation so evidently expected from road-makers and teamsters in helping to make the fast running of the stages a success is a fine tribute to spirit of all classes at that period.

How long this stage ran is not shown by any papers, but it was at least running a year later for a pair of little account books show the amounts collected at the Haverhill

end from July to October 1794, where James Duncan also acted as agent for the connections for Boston apparently. It probably continued for some years for the Duncans were soon busy promoting the Haverhill-Chester-Concord turnpike.

There is a petition in the Family Papers to the New Hampshire General Court for a charter for a turnpike road from Concord via Chester to the Massachusetts line in Plaistow, signed by twenty-three of the chief citizens of Haverhill headed by James Duncan, Jr., and Benjamin Willis, and also signed by Nathaniel Saltonstall, Dudley Porter, Bailey Bartlett and many others, but it has no date. However, the petition was granted, a corporation organized, and work begun, for the first payment on the stock was asked for January 10, 1805, and a total of \$83 a share before October 1806, so work must have been pushed. We find no evidence that the road paid! James was a director of the Company and probably got his return in improved transportation for his stages and freight wagons. James appears to have bought up a lot of land in Atkinson, Hempstead and Chester, in 1804 and 1805, which would seem to indicate he was preparing for a land boom when the new road was finished. There was also a lot of land in those towns belonging to his wife's father's estate of which he was administrator, which he wished to liquidate.

The settling of the estate of Samuel White was quite a task and the executors he named, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Moses Brown, and his daughter Sarah, declined to serve. In the course of a year, it was worked out that his three sons-in-law, Moses Brown, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Esq., James Duncan, Jr., Esq., and the daughter, Sarah White, should serve. The brothers-in-law seem to have got along well together but James was the efficient business man on the spot and most of the work must have devolved on him, for all the estate papers are with the Duncan manuscripts. It was no small task as there were seven parts to be apportioned to the children or their heirs if they had died. It is no simple matter to divide a large property, much of which was not readily salable, and there were agreements and

cross agreements which were veritable autograph collections of the heirs' signatures; but finally it was all settled except the lands, which dragged on for years.

This land business was more than a side issue with James. After 1800 it was becoming very important. James, Senior, had a great deal. Some was acquired by taking up land grants in new towns or more often by financing settlers who wished to go up into the wilderness, including his sons in Grantham. Samuel White, James, Junior's, father-in-law, apparently made a business of going to the "*vendues*" when lands were sold for the taxes and acquiring titles. When not redeemed, many of these lands fell into his hands and, at his death in 1801, it became the duty of James Junior, to manage them. James acquired quite a lot himself in a similar way. From the meagre correspondence with lawyers and justices of the peace up country many of the properties were hard to liquidate. They covered land in Atkinson, Plaistow, Hempstead, Londonderry, Chester, Hooksett, Goffstown, Dunbarton, Bow, Pembroke, Gilmanton, Cornish, Grantham, Plainfield, Lebanon, Wentworth, Warren, Haverhill, Charlestown, and Acworth (and also Northfield and Belmont then part of Gilmanton). Some of this was timber but most of it cleared and in process of conversion to farm land. The properties from Gilmanton north, had been taken up largely by Haverhill people and drifted into the hands of the Duncans.

In 1806, James took a trip northward as far as Haverhill, N. H., to inspect his properties from Gilmanton up, of which he wrote an entertaining account.⁴³ By that time the brothers, John, Robert, and Samuel who had settled in Grantham, had all died, but their families were there and James visited them all. Lucy Todd Duncan, John's widow, seemed to have a good farm well kept. Three miles away was Hannah Duncan's place which showed signs of poverty. She was the widow of Samuel when she married Robert who had just died. In Lebanon, James checked the store accounts and inspected the oil mill and the potash works. It took him a day and a half

⁴³ See Journal of James Duncan, Jr., E. I. H. C., Jan. 1943.

to reach Concord where he dined with brother Williams' mother-in-law, Mrs. Robert Harris, on a partridge and a good glass of Madeira, no sign of poverty there! His sister-in-law, Dolly was away, but he called at her home and then he went on to "my mills at Isle of Hooksett Falls" and got back to Haverhill next day. One is impressed by the inexpensiveness of a night's lodging. He paid from \$2.80 to \$7.75 for supper, lodging and breakfast for himself and driver, and feed and stabling for his pair of horses.

The mill at Hooksett Falls brings us to another of James' major ventures. In 1794, William Duncan, Robert McGregor and their associates had been incorporated to hold all the water rights for a dam, canal, locks and mills at Isle of Hooksett Falls.⁴⁴ They probably turned to James for money to develop the property and when William died in 1799, James became the chief owner, for McGregor did not seem to have any money. Anyway a pretty good sawmill was operating at this time. In 1803, by the opening of the Middlesex Canal from Lowell to Boston to convey produce, especially lumber, from the Merrimack Valley to Boston for the shipyards, the navigation of the Upper Merrimack became important. A corporation was formed in 1809 to build locks at Isle of Hooksett with 65 shares, of which the Middlesex Canal Corporation subscribed for twenty-five, Duncan and McGregor for ten each, and other individuals for one or two each.⁴⁵ To this corporation Duncan and McGregor sold all their rights for \$2,000 and Duncan became an active director of the corporation. Soon he was being assessed on 30 shares so he was the largest holder.⁴⁶ He also had to finance McGregor. How the adventure succeeded does not appear in the family papers.

In one of Mr. McGregor's letters at this time there is the only confirmation of one family tradition so far found. There has always been a joke in the family about the "Duncan Black Salve" which was said to be an almost magical

⁴⁴ Original grant in Family Papers.

⁴⁵ List of stockholders in Family MS.

⁴⁶ Haverhill Hist. Soc. Ledger, Sept. 19, 1809.

cure for burns and if exploited might have produced a fabulous fortune like Ayer's Cherry Pectoral or Pond's Extract. The secret of its concoction seems to have died with James, Junior, however. Once in his childhood the author saw a little jar said to contain some, but it did not look alluring. And what was a roll of it? One of Mr. McGregor's letters reads like the proverbial testimonials.

Goffstown, January 18, 1808

Dr. Sir:

When I got home I found one of my children had met with a scald and as our appointment was that you would meet at my house on Thursday you will oblige me to fetch a roll of your Burne Salve. If you fetch a number of rolls you will not be troubled to sell them

Yr. Hnble Serv't

Robert McGregor
Haverhill Sept. 30, 1806

N. B. I was for sending for some yesterday and Esq. Kidder requested me to bring him some of the salve.

Another activity in Haverhill started in 1801 with a petition for a charter to bring water to the town from Round Pond. Benjamin Willis headed the group and a company was formed. In April 1803, they advertised for proposals to bore the logs to be used as pipes, dig the ditch and lay the pipes. The managing directors were then Benjamin Willis, James Duncan, Jr., Esq., and Bailey Bartlett. They let the contract to dig to two men whose signatures are unreadable and presumably the boring to some men with the necessary machinery.⁴⁷ The laying seems to have been done largely by James Duncan's men for whom he charged for a man, a pair of oxen and wheels, \$3.17 a day. The work went on from May to November, but only came to \$182.50 even including two quarts of rum at 58 cents for every working day. It took 46½ quarts to float the job to a finish, not to mention 1¾ gals of rum and 1½ lbs of sugar for the organization meeting.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See Diary of William Bentley, IV, p. 590, for this method of making paper.

⁴⁸ Papers and accounts in Family MS.

As the Proprietors have been at great expense
in providing a suitable Carriage and Horses for
the accommodation of Passengers and likewise for repair-
ing the Road, they solicit the Patronage of the
public and the Attention of every Citizen ⁱⁿ these
Towns through which the Stage is to pass to lend
their friendly Aid for repairing ~~the Road and~~
~~the Road and~~ ^{the Road and} ~~the Road and~~
making them better, which will not
only accommodate the Stage but also all travellers
with Teams Carriages & Sleighs. —

They likewise ~~beg leave~~, as the Mount is very dif-
ficult to perform in a day beg leave leave
in a particular Manner to solicit the friendship
~~and~~ of all Teamsters, that they would be as obli-
ging as when they hear the Stage coming to stop
these Teams in some convenient place that
the Stage may pass as the Road in many
places is so narrow that it is impossible to turn
out with 4 Horses in a Carriage without danger
of breaking it the Stage Horses will wear bells
to distinguish them from other Carriages —
Concord ~~the~~ ^{the} 10th October 1793 —

CONCORD-CHESTER-HAVERHILL STAGE LINE

Copy in the writing of James Duncan, Jr., for a poster to be put up along the line

It is difficult to unsnarl James, Junior's, banking operations. By 1805, he was a shareholder in the Newburyport Bank, the Marine Insurance Company and the Union Bank of Boston. In 1806, he was paying assessments on stock of the Coos Bank in Haverhill, N. H., and was going to Boston about forming a bank in Haverhill.⁴⁹

Before this in the years 1803 and 1804, he borrowed a lot of money from the Newburyport Bank and the Merrimack Bank, (at least \$15,000 to \$20,000 in \$500 to \$1,000 pieces) but whether this was his own or borrowed for the Aqueduct Company or the Haverhill Bridge Company is not stated,⁵⁰ but during this time he was contributing stock assessments to the Concord Bridge, the Haverhill Bridge and Aqueduct, the Chester Turnpike, and the Coos Bank. To the latter he seems to have had to send gold! In 1809, the Isle Hooksett Canal and the Haverhill Bridge (probably for repairs) became active and presumably for them James was again a borrower to the tune of \$15,000 or \$20,000.

The Merrimack Bank was incorporated in 1814,⁵¹ but must have been doing business as a private bank as early as 1803. James seemed to have no trouble in getting money when he wanted it and often renewed his notes. He was probably a part owner of the Merrimack Bank whenever it was incorporated. (The writer still owns his shares.)

James, Junior, had been more or less interested in town affairs, as all good citizens then were, even after he retired from the militia, and had served on committees for selecting sites for schools, but in 1811 he became town clerk when his friend Leonard White went to Congress. This position was by no means a sinecure. Many town reports from 1808 to 1815, are among his papers which seem to indicate he was a selectman for several terms about that time.

James' sons were growing up. Samuel, the eldest, had succeeded to his father's military activities and had risen

49 Haverhill Hist. Soc. Ledger.

50 See Interleaved Almanacs at Haverhill Public Library.

51 D. H. Hurd: Hist. of Essex County, II, 2007.

rapidly in the Haverhill Light Infantry, an independent company but attached to the 5th line regiment. These independent companies were usually armed and equipped at their own expense and consisted, therefore, of a group of military enthusiasts who were efficient troops. As soon as the War of 1812 broke out the Light Infantry with Samuel W. Duncan as Captain was ordered to Boston to garrison the fort and there stayed many months.⁵² In 1815 at the close of the war, Samuel married his cousin, Mary White. They had no children but it was through them that "The Buttonwoods" came into the family.⁵³ Col. Richard Saltonstall who lived there fled to England at the time of the Revolution and the place fell eventually into the hands of Sir Grenville Temple who intrusted the management to Thomas L. Winthrop. In 1809, he wrote James, Junior, asking him to rent or sell it and the correspondence went on for several years. The house was falling to pieces, the taxes were eating the property up, and some time during the War of 1812 or soon after it, it fell into James' hands. It was then known as the Watson place from the name of the tenant probably. When his son Samuel was married, a new house was built and Samuel went there to live. After his death in 1826, his widow continued to live there till 1868 when it passed into the hands of James H. Duncan, and was given by his daughter, Mrs. Robert Harris (Mary Duncan) to the Haverhill Historical Society as a memorial to him. His son-in-law, Rev. T. T. Munger, the famous Congregational preacher and author of New Haven, Conn., wrote the memorial tablet which was unveiled by the present writer.

After 1800, while James, Junior, was in the full tide of activity, his father, James, Senior, though still active was passing into the relative calm of his late seventies, thinking of his sons and grandchildren of which there were fifteen or twenty, estimating what property he had to leave, and making his will. His household consisted of his third wife, Hannah, and his daughter, Margaret, who was in a

⁵² Chase: Haverhill, 485.

⁵³ This was where Hugh Tallent's Sycamores were planted. See Whittier's Poems, Camb. Edn., p. 56.

fair way to becoming that useful member of old New England society, a maiden aunt. Elizabeth, after a short widowhood following John Thaxter's death had married a prosperous merchant of Newburyport, Joshua Carter, and lived in a house still standing next the Wolfe Tavern, with an increasing family. Of his sons, George, John, Samuel and William, all had died before 1800, while Robert and Abraham died in the decade before 1810. James alone outlived him and that by only four years. A touching glimpse of the old gentleman is given in a letter to his daughter-in-law, Hannah, who, as the widow of his son Samuel, married his son Robert, and now was again a widow.

Dear Daughter:

I received your letter of the 18th instant conveying to me the melancholly tidings of the death of your husband and my Son, the circumstances of his death were truly affecting and the news to me was sudden and unexpected, but the great disposer of all events has a sovereign right to remove his creatures from this World to another state of existence at pleasure and it becomes us as dependent Beings on his unmerited goodness to acquiesce in his government, knowing that the judge of all the Earth will do right. It therefore becomes our duty to submit to this bereaving stroke of his providence and may you and I with the Children and relatives of the deceased have grace given us to make such an improvement of this dispensation of divine providence that it may tend to fix our affections on things above and wean us from an undue attachment to sublunary enjoyments.

As to the management of the settlement of my Son's affairs I should think it would be the least trouble for you and perhaps the safest for you to let Esquire Kimball or some honest Man that you can place confidence in; administer his effects; the Home Farm belonging to Robert you know I have a Deed of which by my will I have left to Robert's children after my decease except a part of the income which you are to have. I mention this now merely to prevent it being appraised as Robert's Estate. I would have you improve the Farm as usual for your benefit and the Children's at present and until you hear further from me,—that you may receive all that divine support and assistance under the double weight of

duty devolved upon you by the loss of your husband is the Earnest prayer of your afflicted Father in law.

James Duncan⁵⁴

In May 1809 the old gentleman having survived all his sons but James, concluded it was time to make a will. He left his widow Hannah a life interest in his house and furniture and charges his executor, who was James, Junior, to take good care of her "provide everything necessary for her comfort" and pay her \$50 a year for life and provide "a decent funeral." This was no small obligation and makes James' rather large share of the estate seem more reasonable, but as it worked out, she died some years before her husband.

He seems to have held notes against all the estates of his deceased sons and he gives these all back to their heirs and gives also to each grandchild a small cash legacy, none over \$150, except John's children who only get "my silver tankard" and the forgiveness of the debts. He gives Robert's farm which he seems to have taken over at some time back to his children, but with a life interest in half of it to the widow. He gives his daughter Elizabeth Carter \$1500, but "what her husband Joshua Carter and the said Elizabeth are indebted to me . . . to be counted in part of said legacy." Margaret not then married, got \$1500, \$500 in Newburyport Bank stock, and the right to live in the house as long as the widow lived. Abraham's little orphan daughter then 13 years old who may then have been living in his household, he gives the largest cash legacy of any grandchild, \$500 as well as her father's debts. The two sons of James are to have "my silver ladle" and "my silver teapot."

All of this shows the strong Duncan tendency (persisted into the 20th century!) of leaving property not to those you love best but to those who seem to need it most.

Four years later and right in the middle of the War of 1812, the old gentleman made a codicil cutting down most of the cash legacies fifty percent. This was witnessed by L. White, N. Saltonstall, and Charles White the 29th May,

⁵⁴ This letter kindly loaned me by Miss Annie Duncan of Meriden, New Hampshire.

1813. The giver must have had a marked feeling of poverty and of course just then ready cash was hard to come by, but this with the death of Hannah, his widow, a few months later must have worked to the advantage of his son James. However, the innumerable papers connected with the settlement of the estate indicate that James earned his part.

Two persons mentioned in the will deserve a little notice. Susan Duncan by the original will "in case she is here . . . is to be put into mourning." This would imply she was a member of her grandfather's household, brought from Meriden perhaps to take care of the old people as daughter Margaret was soon to marry Rev. Thomas Baldwin. She was Samuel's daughter and, in 1809, would have been twenty. A little later she married John Harris who soon died and she then married William Reynolds. She lived till 1875 and was known to many Duncans as "Aunt Susan Reynolds."

The other was the little orphan daughter of Abraham who came to live with her grandfather and continued on with her uncle, James, Junior. In middle life she took charge of the household of an aged widower, Dr. James Hayward of Boston, and presided there with gentle dignity for many years. After he died she returned to Haverhill and lived in the household of James H. Duncan till, in her nineties, she became the responsibility of his grandchildren. Tiny of stature, but full of energy till her last years, she was still mentally alert at ninety-three. Known to the older people as Cousin Caroline, she was "Grandma Tiny" to the young folks and delighted to tell them stories of earlier days. She claimed to have danced with Lafayette on his last visit, but it could not have been in Haverhill as he seems not to have visited there. Always a firm abstainer she highly disapproved of an old friend of hers across the street who had a glass of wine daily with his dinner. When he finally died at ninety-five, her only comment was, "Well, I always told Moses that glass of wine would kill him!" Her cousin's widow, Mrs. James H. Duncan, a lady of charm and distinction, gave her a party one birthday and invited all the old residents of

Haverhill, and the writer and his brother as small boys were delegated to open the big front door for the guests; hence the childish jingle

We tend door

When Grandma Tiny was eighty-four.

There are sundry lists purporting to show what James, Senior, considered himself to be worth, but they are hard to understand. In 1782, his notes, accts. receivable, and cash were considered worth £3050 his land in Haverhill £1900, and his share of the partnership £530. In 1801, translated into dollars, his quick assets were \$6040 and his land \$5275. These were probably reports to the Haverhill assessors as they contain little outside Haverhill. He must have owned much more than that for a memorandum with the copy of his will among the family papers lists the following:

40	shares	Union Bank Boston	\$100 each
5	"	Mass. Bank	\$250 each
5	"	Chester Turnpike	
10	"	Haverhill Aqueduct	
2	"	Concord Bridge (lower)	
22	"	Haverhill Bridge	
2	Certifs	U. S. 3% stock	\$363.17
3	"	" 6%	285.87
		Stock in Mass. Mutual Fire Insurance	C 225
1	sh	Haverhill Library	
1	sh	Hayscales	

As bridge stocks were then valuable this must have made a total of nearly \$10,000. Haverhill Bridge stock at this time was considered worth \$600 a share.⁵⁵

One brief glimpse of the old gentleman we get in a letter from his granddaughter, Mary Duncan Upham, the daughter of William Duncan, to her husband, George B. Upham of Claremont, N. H., dated 10 February 1812, which would have been the day of the conclusion of his eighty-fifth year.

My visit has not prov'd as pleasant as I anticipated as I am depriv'd of an opportunity to visit Portsmouth. by dint of

perserverence Grandpapa has been to see them but acknowledges that a waggon is not a favourite vehicle of his to ride in—I took the the (*sic*) stage with James and went to Boston a fortnight since & accomplished the principle object I had in going but have since been so much afflicted with the ague as to deprive me of all pleasure, while in Haverhill my friends there where (*sic*) all attentive and express'd their regret at not seeing you. Grandpapa Duncan appears quite as well as when we visited him together—our friends there think him fast declining. this day compleats his eighty seventh year—Uncle and Aunt Duncan desired their compliments when I wrote. I left James there. it was his intention to go to Portsmouth this week and sail in the first vessel in which he can get employ. I think it uncertain when we shall see him again. his disappointment was great at not seeing *you* & said if he felt himself able he certainly would take a trip to Claramont—his last voyage prove (*sic*) unlucky owing to his sickness—if you think it will not be in your power to come for me soon after you receive this I wish you to write me by the first mail as I feel anxious to hear from you and our dear little boys—George I expect to find much the same Robert I hope has improved in talking. my love to Betsey tell (her) I am *almost homesick*—compliments to enquiring friends. Mama & Willy desire their love. William is so much engaged in work that I see but little of *him*. don't fail of writing as I shall be very much disappointed in not seeing or hearing (from) you next week. I intended writing you from *Boston* but was prevented by the politeness of Mrs. Lamb and family—this prehaps (*sic*) will appear rather enigmatical to you—I will explain it in this way—the day I went into Boston I found it to (*sic*) late to attend to business and by the advice of my friends I call on Mrs Lamb. I soon found it impossible to leave their house without affronting them. my time past very pleasantly it is a family I think you would be pleased *with*. I call with Miss Lam(b) on Mrs. Parsons and your Brother. his wife I should judge to be a pleasant amiable woman. in my eyes (she) has not any pretensions to beauty. Phineas appears very fond of his child says it is one of the finest fellows in the world. Kiss my dear little boys for me and believe yours with affection⁵⁶

Mary Upham

⁵⁶ In this letter the "grandpapa" who had been to Portsmouth was her mother's father, Capt. Robert Harris who formerly lived in Portsmouth. "James" was her brother, James

The only family event that remains to be chronicled is the marriage of Margaret Duncan.⁵⁷ She was a woman of high character, a devout Baptist of a prominent Baptist family in the church of Rev. Hezekiah Smith who stood high in the denomination. She was in the uncertain forties and it was entirely fitting that Rev. Thomas Baldwin of Boston, a prominent Baptist minister, should have selected her as his second wife. They were married in Haverhill, Dec. 12, 1812. There is a list of guests for some party which was sent out in July, 1812, which was probably for the announcement of Margaret's engagement. It included all the family connections and a good many others. The invitations were sent to Mr. and Mrs. and family, and some items were figured as nine acceptances. It included the Lambs, the Bradfords, and the Gorhams of Boston; the Parsons, the Moses Browns, the Carters, the Greenleafs, and the Sewalls of Newburyport; and the Whites, the Saltonstalls, and the Howes of Haverhill as well as scattered persons from Lebanon, N. H., to Portland, Maine. The invitations sent numbered about 100, but the persons expected, several times that, and as there were no Boston people except relatives there must have been a similar list for Dr. Baldwin's people unless another party was given in Boston. The dates of when the "billets" were sent are recorded from July 22 on for a week, so allowing for slow delivery and slow travelling, the party must have come late in August, but that is just all we know about it.

James, Senior, came to the end of his long and busy life July 24, 1817, and was laid to rest in the old Pentucket graveyard on Mill Street beside Elizabeth Bell, the wife of his youth and mother of all his children, flanked

Duncan of Concord. "Grandpapa Duncan" was of course James, Senior, but she is mistaken on his age; while "Uncle and Aunt Duncan" were James, Junior, and Rebekah. "Mama and Willy" were her mother, Mrs. William Duncan of Concord, N. H., and her brother William. The Lambs were rather distant cousins as they were descended from James, Senior's, eldest brother, John of Londonderry. "Mrs. Parsons" was Anna Thaxter Parsons, the eldest daughter of Elizabeth Duncan Carter by her first husband, John Thaxter. "Phineas" was Phineas Upham, her husband's brother.

⁵⁷ Picture in E. I. H. C., LXXXVII, p. 316.

by Elizabeth Leonard, admirable but unfortunate, and the placid Hannah Greenleaf, the companion of his declining years. All their grave stones still stand there in a row. (1951)

Hardly had the affairs of James, Senior, been settled before it became apparent to James, Junior, that he could not expect to equal his father's span of life. His two fine sons had already arrived at manhood. Samuel had a good record as a military officer after graduating from Harvard in 1810. James graduated from Harvard in 1812, received an A. M. also, and then studied law with John Varnum and was admitted to the bar in 1815. These two boys were the first Duncans to graduate from Harvard.

It was natural that when James, Junior, made his will, he should appoint his lawyer son his executor and so he did. James was not married at the time of his father's death, but Samuel had been married since Dec. 7, 1815. His will divided his miscellaneous lands in Haverhill about equally between the two sons and gave each one half the store and half of his half interest in the Distillery and also to each one, half of the undesignated residue. He also gave to James "the dwelling house lately occupied by my honored father." The widow is to have the use of the Mansion House, the garden, the cows, the horse and chaise, and certain bank and bridge stocks; but after her death, the house and all belonging to it, (except the furniture of which he is to have that in the two front rooms and the four chambers) is to go to James. This seems a very unfair division, but with the will are two duplicate memoranda listing what each was to get. These contain exactly the items in the will except Samuel's included the "Watson Farm" and buildings with 28 acres at \$8,000, the biggest item of all, which with three shares of Bridge stock makes each brother have about \$11,300. This "Watson Farm" was the "Buttonwoods" with the new house recently built for Samuel and given to him by his father on his marriage in 1815. Evidently the division was considered by the brothers as about fair. The division of the store and distillery between them would indicate that the father

expected the boys would carry on the business about as he had and that they would be informal partners.

There is a very full inventory of the contents of the store, distil house and the mansion on Main Street and a list of about \$8,000 in stocks, bonds, and notes but no mention of the very considerable lands which must have belonged to him in many New Hampshire towns. According to the inventory the property amounted to \$24,290 for real estate and \$15,321.72 for personal property of all kinds. The values set were of course very small. The Mansion on Main Street opposite City Hall, later the Eagle House, and the Buttonwoods together would be worth about \$60,000. Among the lesser items, fine mahogany chairs would not be valued at \$1.00 each nor mahogany bureaus at \$4.00. The entire contents of the house was valued at about \$3200. The rather small collection of thirty or fifty books was rated at \$120. At present day values the whole property must have been worth in the hundreds of thousands.

James, Junior, his wife, and his son Samuel are buried in the big flat topped tomb surrounded (1952) by an iron fence in the old Pentucket Cemetery. The inscription is very simple, just the names and dates, but there is a pleasant touch in the fact that the two faithful servants, Polly Winter and Samuel Bradley, who served them through life are buried in the tomb with them and their names are also inscribed on the tomb.

There are no pictures of the first James and the only representation of the younger is a little black silhouette. Tradition has it that they were both small of stature and the younger certainly was, for his uniform as major of cavalry is still in existence and could only be worn by a small spare person. A man who must have known them well somewhat contradicts the family tradition:⁵⁸

The first James who died in 1818 was tall and brawny with a distinctly marked Scotch face, his dress was in the old style—broad coat, small clothes, buckled shoes, etc; his speech retained the racy brogue of his fatherland. His son James was

⁵⁸ Letter of William Willis of Portland quoted in *In Memoriam: James H. Duncan* privately printed Cambridge no date.

a man of great energy, impetuous and overbearing in his temperament and could not bear opposition or contradiction.

Thus the story of the two James Duncans draws to a close. The elder one had come to Haverhill almost penniless and unknown in the middle of the eighteenth century and by the close of our Revolution, with energy and tireless work, they had made themselves two of the five or six leading men in the town. By 1820, through marriages with the prominent White and Willis families they had become a dominant influence and so the family remained till after the Civil War.

CHILDREN OF

JAMES DUNCAN, b. Feb. 10, 1726, Ballymony, Ireland; d. July 24, 1817, Haverhill, Mass., m. Oct. 20, 1747.

ELIZABETH BELL, dau. of John Bell and Elizabeth (Todd) Bell, b. Londonderry, N. H., Dec. 28, 1725; d. Haverhill, Mass., Sept. 4, 1779. All the children were by this marriage.

James married 2d, Elizabeth Leonard, b. July 3, 1736; d. Nov. 9, 1785; 3d, Hannah Greenleaf, b. Dec. 29, 1727; d. Aug. 3, 1813.

- I MARY DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 21 Sept. 1749; d. Haverhill, 31 Oct. 1777 unmarried. Engaged to Moses Black.
- II GEORGE DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 21 Oct. 1751; d. 7 Apr. 1766.
- III JOHN DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 1 Apr. 1754; d. Grant-ham, N. H., 26 June, 1799; m. Lucy Todd, b. ——— d. after 1806; dau. of Rev. Mr. Todd of Middletown, Conn. Children: Harriet, Margaret and John, all died unmarried.
- IV JAMES DUNCAN, JR., b. Haverhill, 22 April, 1756; d. Haverhill, 5 Jan. 1822; m. 26 Jan. 1790, Rebekah White, b. Haverhill, 10 Aug. 1754; d. 4 Nov. 1838; dau. of Samuel White of Haverhill and Sarah (Browne) White.

Children:

1. Samuel White Duncan, b. 18 Dec. 1790; d. 21 Oct. 1824; m. 7 Dec. 1815, Mary White, dau. of Samuel White and Lydia (Ayer) White. Harvard 1810.
2. James Henry Duncan, b. 5 Dec. 1795; d. Feb. 1869; m. Mary Willis, dau. of Benjamin Willis and Mary (McKinstry) Willis.

V SAMUEL DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 1 April, 1758; d. Grantham, 9 July, 1793; m. 24 Dec. 1783, Hannah Emerson, b. 12 Mar. 1764; d. 9 Apr. 1851; dau. of Nehemiah and Susanna (Simonds) Emerson of Haverhill.

Children:

1. Elizabeth Duncan, b. 1 Oct. 1784; d. —; m. 15 Jan. 1815, Edward Freeman, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Huntington) Freeman of Hanover, N. H.
2. Susanna Duncan, b. 16 Aug. 1786; d. 22 Oct. 1787.
3. Susan Duncan, b. 21 Feb. 1789; d. 27 April 1875; m. 1st John Harris, 2nd William Reynolds. No children.
4. John Thaxter Duncan, b. 8 Dec. 1791; d. 27 April, 1797.

VI ROBERT DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 21 May, 1760; d. Grantham, N. H., 16 Sept. 1806; m. Hannah Duncan, widow of Samuel (see above).

Children:

1. Samuel Bell Duncan, b. Grantham, 20 Mar., 1795; d. 22 Dec. 1869; m. Ruth Ticknor, b. Oct 3, 1797, dau. of John and Mabel (Green) Ticknor who moved from Lebanon, Conn. to Lebanon, N. H. before Ruth was born. Three children.
2. John Thaxter Duncan, b. Grantham, 8 Mar. 1798; d. 1870?; m. July, 1828, Fannie Dennison, dau. of Dea. William and Sola (Higley) Dennison of Rutland, Vt., b. 16 May, 1805; lived in Rutland and Union Falls, N. Y. Eight children, six sons.
3. Mary Ann Duncan, b. 23 Mar. 1800; d. 21 Dec. 1890; m. John, son of Sylvanus and Judith (Chase) Bryant of Cornish, N. H., b. Aug. 1774; d. 24 Oct. 1856. Five children.

4. Hannah, b. Grantham, 28 Mar. 1802; d. Meriden, 15 Oct. 1896; m. Meriden, 13 Feb. 1833; Reuben, son of Benjamin True. Four children, three sons, one daughter.

VII WILLIAM MAXWELL DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 21 Apr. 1762; d. Concord, N. H., 15 Oct. 1799; m. Dolly Harris, b. —; died, 1835; dau. of Robert Harris and Mehitable Rogers of Portsmouth, N. H.

Children:

1. James Duncan, b. Concord, N. H., 2 May, 1789; d. Chicago, Ill., 15 Mar. 1863; m. 21 July, 1816, Eliza Tillinghast Vilette, b. Newport, R. I., 21 July, 1798, d. N. Y. City, 4 Jan. 1878. Eight children.
2. Nancy Duncan, b. Concord, N. H., 1791? ; d. ? m. William Hill.
3. Mehitable Duncan, b. Concord, 17—; d. m. Andrew McClary.
4. Mary Duncan, b. Concord 1784; d. 11 Sept. 1866; m. 10 Dec. 1805; George B. Upham of Claremont, N. H., son of Phineas Upham of Brookfield. Children: George, Robert, and seven others.
5. William Duncan, b. Concord, N. H. ; d. —disappeared.

VIII ABRAHAM DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 17 Mar. 1764; d. Dover (?), 6 Oct. 1807; m. Mrs. Mary (Mellen) Parker. Child: Caroline Duncan, b. 30 March, 1800; d. Haverhill, Mar. 19, 1893.

IX ELIZABETH DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 30 May, 1767; d. Brookline, 3 Oct. 1864; m. 13 Nov. 1787, John Thaxter, son of Col. John and Anna (Quincy) Thaxter of Hingham; b. 5 July, 1755; d. 6 July, 1791; m. 2d Joshua Carter of Newburyport, 21 Aug. 1794; b. 2 Dec. 1760; d. 15 Sept. 1849.

Children:

1. John Adams Thaxter, b. 7 July 1789, Haverhill, d. 4 Sept. 1790.
2. Anna Quincy Thaxter, b. Haverhill, 26 June, 1791; d. Roxbury, 14 April, 1879; m. Newburyport, 27 Mar. 1810, Nehemiah Parsons, son of Nehemiah and Susan (Ellery) Parsons of Gloucester, Mass. One son, six daughters.

3. George Duncan Carter, b. Newburyport, 1 June 1795; d. Troy, N. Y., 25 Sept. 1871; m. June 30 1840, Catherine Schuyler Tillman, dau. of Lewis Tillman of Troy, N. Y. One son.
 4. Thomas Carter, b. Newburyport, 26 Mar. 1797; Lost at sea, Dec. 1819.
 5. Elizabeth Margaret Carter, b. Newburyport, 9 Apr. 1799; d. Longwood, 4 Sept. 1866; m. 24 April, 1821, William Belcher Reynolds, son of Edward and Deborah (Belcher) Reynolds, b. 16 Jan. 1797; d. 19 Feb. 1866. Seven children, 3 sons.
 6. James Duncan Carter, b. Newburyport, 19 Oct. 1801; d. 27 Sept. 1802.
 7. Caroline Carter, b. Newburyport, 21 Mar. 1804; d. 24 May, 1833.
 8. John James Carter, b. Newburyport, 22 Sept. 1806; d. 25 May, 1816.
 9. Margaret Duncan Carter, b. Newburyport, 27 Mar. 1809; d. 31 Mar. 1882.
- X MARGARET DUNCAN, b. Haverhill, 5 Apr. 1769; d. Boston, 19 May, 1858; m. Haverhill, 1 Dec. 1812, Rev. Thomas Baldwin of Boston, b. 1754; d. 29 Aug. 1825, as his second wife. No children by this marriage. She founded and was long the patron of the Children's Aid Society of Boston.

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- In Memoriam: James H. Duncan. Privately printed 1871. Concord, N. H., Town Records, 1732-1820, Concord, N. H., 1894.
- N. Bouton: *History of Concord*, Concord, 1856.
- Haverhill Historical Society Ledger. This is a manuscript ledger or day book with many entries of cash transactions of James Duncan, Junior, from 1804 to Oct. 1813, now in the Haverhill Historical Society.
- Ship Book, accounts of the voyages of the Brig BETSY and the Brigantine POLLY in 1774. At the Haverhill Historical Society.
- Family MSS. A parchment covered circular trunk with all the papers used in settling the estates of James Duncan, Sr., James Duncan, Jr., Samuel White (father of Mrs. James Duncan Jr.), Benjamin Willis (father of Mrs. James H. Duncan), John Thaxter (husband of Elizabeth Duncan). There are copies of most of the wills, some inventories, and innumerable deeds. The military and town papers and business papers of James, Jr., and some school reports of his sons. There are a few letters but very few, and various miscellaneous papers of all the persons.
- Manuscript Genealogy of the Duncan Family, prepared by Frank W. Reynolds and kindly given to the writer by Miss Madeline Reynolds of Providence, R. I.
- Interleaved Almanacs. At the Haverhill Public Library, from 1774 to 1821 containing notes by James Duncan and James Duncan, Jr. kindly copied for me by the people at the Library. These notes are pretty scarce and most of them of little interest.
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As well as the people at the Haverhill Public Library, I want to thank Mrs. J. B. Mason at the Haverhill Historical Society, Miss Osborne at the Essex Institute and people at the Newburyport Historical Society who have looked up items for me and Mrs. C. F. Weed of Brookline, Mass. and Miss Annie Duncan of Meriden, N. H. for friendly help.

CORRIGENDA

A few unfortunate errors crept into the articles on James Duncan in the January, 1952 issue of the Historical Collections.

Page Line

- | | | |
|------------|------|---|
| 6 | 15 | for Oct. 3, 1869, read Oct. 3, 1864. |
| Cut facing | p. 6 | —third line of motto under cut, for "Hugh Smith" read "Hezk. Smith," abbreviation for Hezekiah. |
| 9 | 18 | for "his own vessels" read "his owning vessels." |
| 11 | 7 | for "conservations" read "conservatism." |
| 18 | 7 | for "at Mellen" read "a Mellen." |
| 18 | | add at end "The genealogy was prepared by Frank W. Reynolds." |

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMB-STONES IN THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT NORTH ANDOVER MASSACHUSETTS

Copied in October 1869

by

Miss Mary Kittredge, Miss Sarah Kittredge,
Mr. Isaac Osgood and Mr. Frank Appleton

Introduction by

Walter Muir Whitehill

Few if any burying grounds in New England can surpass that on Academy Road, North Andover in the harmonious relationship of carved slate inscriptions, terrain and noble trees. The first meetinghouse of the church organized at Andover on 24 October 1645 probably stood within the limits of this burying ground, while the second meetinghouse (built about 1669) is believed to have been located just across the road, on the site of the triangle marking the interesection of Academy Road and Court Street. The third meetinghouse of 1711, and the fourth of 1753, were built some hundreds of yards away, facing the end of the present common, a few rods south of the present [and fifth] North Parish Church [Unitarian], which was completed in 1836.

This first burying ground served the north parish of Andover until 1817, when a second one—also on Academy Road but considerably nearer the site of the current meetinghouse—was laid out. Although it has always been believed that the first settlers of the town were buried here, it is to be noted that the inscriptions are almost entirely of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Apparently stone carvers were not generally employed in Andover in the first half century of the town's existence. The inscription commemorating John Stevens, who died on 11 April 1662,¹ is the only one whose date goes back to the second decade of the settlement of Andover, and it is

¹ Reproduced in Horace N. Stevens, *Nathaniel Stevens, 1786-1865* (North Andover, 1946), p. 8.

without contemporary companions. No stone commemorates the Reverend Francis Dane, who died on 17 February 1697 after 48 years service to the church, nor is there any indication of the resting place of Anne Bradstreet, the first American poetess, whose beguiling house² can still be seen from the old burying ground. John H. Ellis, in his introduction to the 1867 edition of her poems, suggested, from the absence of a stone, that "it was not at all improbable that her remains were deposited in her father's tomb at Roxbury."³ Such speculation leaves out of account the obvious fact that one has gravestones only when suitable stone and carvers are within convenient reach. Dr. Marius Barbeau of the National Museum of Canada, while staying with me in the spring of 1952, at once observed that the John Stevens stone so closely resembled others of the first third of the eighteenth century that it seemed likely to have been erected many decades after the death of the man it commemorates, and this suggestion was confirmed by John Howard Benson of Newport, Rhode Island, whose skill in carving stone inscriptions gives unique weight to his views upon the technique of the craft. When the John Stevens stone is recognized as of the eighteenth century rather than of 1662, one need no longer speculate about the absence of stones for seventeenth century founders and patriarchs. The burying ground is, however, rich in the work of the eighteenth century carvers of Boston and Groton, and I hope that, at a later time with Mr. Benson's assistance, it may be possible to attribute many of the finer stones to specific craftsmen.

My present purpose, however, is only to introduce the publication of the texts of the inscriptions in the burying ground, copied in October 1869 by the Misses Mary Hodges Kittredge (1824-1889) and Sarah Kittredge (1831-1916)—granddaughters of Dr. Thomas Kittredge (1746-1818) who built across the road from the burying ground in 1784 the great Kittredge house—and Messrs. Isaac Osgood and Frank Appleton. Typed copies of this

² Now the property of the North Andover Historical Society.

³ John Harvard Ellis *ed.*, *The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse* (Charlestown, 1867), p. lxxv.

useful compilation have long been available in the North Andover Historical Society, the Boston Athenæum and the New England Historic Genealogical Society, but it is only now printed after more than eighty years. As the inscriptions were arranged in order of the somewhat irregular rows of stones beginning in the northeast corner of the burying ground—that is, the corner nearest the Kittredge house—and proceeding towards the southwest, an alphabetical index was thoughtfully provided by the compilers.

The attractiveness of the burying ground owes much to the continued efforts of devoted neighbors. In the eighteenthies the Misses Kittredge raised the money for the stone wall that encloses it, and for many years they saw to its mowing. In more recent times this function became the self-appointed task of Miss Kate Hastings Stevens, who lived at 83 Academy Road, just across a pasture. Miss Stevens cared intensely for the town of North Andover, but perhaps her deepest interest was in this ancient burying ground. Miss Stevens had an extraordinary fund of local historical knowledge, for she remembered with singular accuracy and dry humor most of the occurrences in North Andover during her long life, and many of the earlier incidents told her by older persons. I greatly regret that she did not commit more of her knowledge to print. A little pamphlet, *History of the North Andover Garden Club*, which she published in 1949, contains some welcome recollections, and in 1950 she contributed to the summer issue of *Old-Time New England*, *The Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*⁴ a brief article entitled "The Old Burying Ground on Academy Road, North Andover." This article was, however, only one of the ways in which Miss Kate Stevens showed her devotion to the old burying ground. Working in it with her own hands, or engaging help at her own expense, she kept it in admirable condition until her death in the summer of 1951, and it is singularly appropriate that, in the near future, a simple slate stone, carved by John Howard Benson, will be erected in her memory in this place that she loved so much.

4 Vol. XLI, pp. 13-15.

- 1 Frye. Erected in Memory of Mr. James Frye who died Dec. 17, 1804 aged 73 years.
- 2 Frye. In Memory of Mrs. Mary Frye, wife of Mr. James Frye, who died Feby. 20, 1807 Æt 36.
 Dear Friend in sweet submission bow
 And kiss the gentle hand
 That forst me from your kind embrace
 To meet a heavenly friend.
3. Tyler. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Abigail Tyler, with her child, the wife of Mr. Jacob Tyler, who died March the 25th, 1722 & in y^e 23 year of Her Age.
- 4 Stevens. Here lyes the body of Cornet Nathan Stevens who deceased Febuary y^e 19th 1717/18 in 75 year of his Age.
- 5 Stevens. Here lyes buried the body of Benjamin Stevens Esq^r. who departed this life January 8 Anno Domini 1730 AETAT 74.
- 6 Carlton. In memory of Mr. Amos Carlton, who died July 26, 1809 AEt 30 also Putnam his son died Jan. 20, 1811, aet 4 years.
 Farewell my wife & children dear
 If aught on earth could keep me here
 It would be my love for you
 But Jesus calls my soul away
 Jesus forbids a longer stay
 My dearest friends, Adieu.
- 7 Farington. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Farington, wife of Cap^t Philip Farington who died May 13, 1809 AEt. 64
- 8 Carlton. In Memory of Mary Carlton, widow of Mr. Daniel Carlton who died Nov. 7, 1828.
- 9 Carlton. In Memory of Mr. Daniel Carlton, who died May 23, 1807 AEt. 47.
 The rising morn cannot assure
 That we shall end the day,
 For death stands ready at the door
 To snatch our lives away.
- 10 Marble. Here lies Buried the Body of Mr. Samuel Marble, son of Mr. Job and Mrs. Phebe Marble, who

departed this Life August y^e 25, 1766 in y^e 25 year of His Age.

- 11 Farnum. Erected in Memory of Mr. Timothy Farnum who departed this Life July 25th 1780 in the 78th year [rest concealed]
- 12 Tyler. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Moses Tyler who died Oct y^e 2nd 1727 & in the 86 year of his Age.
- 13 Austin. Samuel Austin who departed this Life Decemb^r y^e 31st 1765 in y^e 71st year of his Age.
- 14 Marble. Benjamin Marble Son of Mr. Job and Mrs. Phebe Marble, who departed this Life March y^e 16th 1761 in y^e 22 year of His Age.
- 15 Marble. In Memory of Miss Priscilah Marble who died Nov^m 14 1789 in the 53^d year of her Age, the Dau^r of Mr. Jobe & Mrs. Phebe Marble.
- 16 Stevens. Here lyes buried the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth the wife of Mr. Joshua Stevens who departed this Life Oct 28, 1764 in the 43^d year of her Age.
- 17 Peters. In Memory of Susannah Peters who died Feb. 20 1816 aged 3 yrs dau^r of Mr. Daniel and Mrs. Susannah Peters.
- 18 Frye. In Memory of Lieu John Frye who died May 11, 1815 AEt. 75.
- 19 Frye. In memory of Mrs. Hannah Frye who died Dec. 11, 1814 AEt. 72, wife of Lieu John Frye.
- 20 Ingals. In Sacred Memory of Mrs. Deborah Ingals, the pious & virtuous consort of Lieut. John Ingals, who departed this Life February the 15th 1781 upon the day she completed 54 years.
- 21 Ingalls. Sacred to the Memory of Lieut John Ingalls, Obt Aug. 26, 1810 AEt. 82.
 The sweet remembrance of the just
 Shall flourish while they sleep in dust.
- 22 Ingalls. In Memory of Miss Judah Ingalls who died April 5, 1807 AEt. 86.
- 23 Parker. In Memory of Benjamin Parker ob July 27 1801 aged 56 years.

Don't weep my friends but dry your tears
 Here I must lie till Christ Appears

- Then burst the bars of death & rise
 With my Saviour Lord above the skies.
- 24 Tedman. Here lyes the body of Mrs. Rebeckah Tedman daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Fitch of Boston aged 45 years 2 months and ten days, who died April 30, 1714.
- 25 Faulkner. Sacred to the Memory of Widow Hannah Faulkner wife of Mr. Joseph Faulkner who died Mar 29 1815 AEt. 78.
- 26 Faulkner. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Joseph Faulkner who departed this Life July 15, 1797 in the 64th year of his Age.
- 27 Stevens. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. John Stevens who deceased y^e 11 Day of April 1662 in y^e 57 year of His Age.
- 28 Marble. In Memory of Mr. Job Marble who departed this Life June y^e 27th 1789 in the 95th year of his Age.
- 29 Marble. In Memory of Mrs. Phebe Marble Relict of M^r. Job Marble who died March 2^d 1794 in the 90th year of her age.
- 30 Cummings. In Memory of Mrs. Anna Cummings W^d of Capt. Tho^s Cummings obt April 10th 1792 Ætat 73 years.
- The happy soul that conquers sin
 Shall everlasting glory win
 Shall see the end of war and pain
 And with the King of Glory reign.
- 31 Cummings. Sacred to the Memory of M^r. Stephen Cummings who departed this Life April 16 1797 in the 41 year of his age.
- 32 Johnson. In Memory of John Johnson son of Mr. Benjamin & Mrs. Sarah Johnson who died Jan'y 19th 1796 aged 2 years & 4 months.
- 33 Johnson. In Memory of Mrs. Rebecca Johnson Dau^t of Mr. John & Mrs. Esther Johnson who departed this Life July y^e 27th 1782 in the 21st year of her Age.
- 34 Johnson. In Memory of Miss Phebe Johnson daug^t

of Mr. John & Mrs. Esther Johnson who died Sept 18 1801 in the 43 year of her Age.

- 35 Johnson. Memento Mori. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. John Johnson Jr. who departed this Life July the 26th 1775 in the 63^d year of his age.
- 36 Newell. Phebe Newell Dau^r of Mr. David & Mrs. Hannah Newell died Feb 4 1781 AEtat 5 years.

Foot Stone.

Trumball. James Trumball who died 1782 Aged 70 years.

- 37 Johnson. In Memory of Mrs. Esther Johnson Relict of Mr. John Johnson Jun^r who departed this life April 15th 1803 in the 79 year of his age.
- 38 Stevens. In Memory of Miss Mary Stevens who died Feb 11 1806 in the 67 year of her age.
- 39 Stevens. In Memory of Mrs. Hannah Stevens the wife of Mr. Benj Stevens who deceased Dec the 23 1772 in the 42^d year of her age.

Blessed are y^e that die in the Lord.

- 40 Stevens. In Memory of Mr. Benjamin Stevens who deceased Jan^y 8th 1780 in the 54th year of his age.

The sweet memory of the Just

Shall flourish while they sleep in dust.

- 41 Osgood. Here lyes buried the body of Capten Christopher Osgood who departed this Life May y^e 9 1723 and in y^e 80th year of his Age.
- 42 Osgood. Here lyes Buried the Body of Peter Osgood the son of Timothy & Deborah Osgood who died November the 17 1716 & in the 17 year of His Age.
- 43 Farnum. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Dolly Farnum, Consort of Dea Benjamin Farnum who died July 25 1815 AEt. 68.
- 44 Farnum. In Memory of Dea Benjamin Farnum who died Dec 4, 1833 AEt. 87.
- 45 Farnum. Erected in Memory of Mr. Jacob Farnum who was drowned in the Great Pond in Andover Aug. 19 1801 aged 26 years 10 months 5 days.
- 46 Carlton. In Memory of Mrs. Hannah Carlton

Consort of Mr. Michael Carlton who died Sept. 13 1805 aged 38 years.

- 47 Symmes. Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. William Symmes D. D. who departed this life May 3^d 1807 in the 78th year of his Age, and 49th of his Ministry.

Also

Mrs. Susanna Symmes. Relict of the late Rev. William Symmes D. D. who departed this Life

July 26th 1807

Aged 79 years.

While holy friendship drops the pious tear
And mournful garlands deck the hallow'd bier,
Can bounteous Heaven a greater solace give
Than that, which whispers, "Friends Departed live."

- 48 Trow. In Memory of Ephraim Trow son of Mr. John Trow Jr & Martha his wife who died April 21, 1802 in the 5 year of his Age.
- 49 Symmes. Lydia & Charlotte, Twin Daughters of the Rev^d William and Mrs. Anna Symmes, born Decem^r 29th 1771 and departed this Life next day.
- 50 Symmes. In Memory of Convers Symmes Son of the Rev^d M^r. William & Mrs. Anna Symmes who died Sept. y^e 4th 1770 Aged 1 month & 11 days.
- 51 Symmes. In Memory of Miss Elizabeth Symmes Daughter of the Rev^d M^r. William Symmes & Mrs. Anna Symmes, who departed this Life Aug 13th 1784 aged 19 years & 5 months.
- 52 Adams. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Hannah Adams wife of Mr. John Adams who departed this Life Octo the 22 1771 in y^e 37 of Her Age.
- 53 Adams. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Hannah Adams, second consort of Deacon John Adams who departed this Life Jan 22 1774 in the 33 year of her Age.
- 54 Adams. Sacred to the Memory of Dea John Adams who died June 27 1813 AEt. 78.
- 55 Barker. Erected in Memory of Deaⁿ Samuel Barker who was born Oct^r 10th 1714 & departed this

Life Nov^r 11th 1796 being in the 83^d year of his Age.

Hear what the voice from Heav'n proclaims
For all the pious dead,
Sweet is the Savor of their names
And soft their sleeping bed.
Far from this world of toil & strife
They're present with the Lord,
The labors of their mortal life
End in a large reward.

56 Barker. In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Barker Relict of Deacⁿ Samuel Barker who departed this life June 18th 1799 in the 88th year of her Age.

57 Barker. In Memory of Mrs. Abigail Barker wife of Mr. Phenehas Barker who died Oct 22 1804 aged 56 years.

58 Barker. Here lyes Buried the Body of Deacon Samuel Barker who departed this Life Octo^r the 1st 1766 in y^e 84th year of His age.

59 Barker. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Sarah Barker wife of Deacon Samuel Barker who departed this Life Sept the 22^d 1764 in y^e 78th year of Her age.

60 Barker. In Memory of Miss Nabby Barker who died Nov^r 11, 1815 Aged 62.

Within this peaceful grave lies one whose hopes alone
Were placed on him who'd power to save
Nor trusted in her own.

61 Foster. Samuel Foster son of Mr. Nathan & Mrs. Susanna Foster, died Jan. 4 1812 aged 17 years & 8 months.

Hope looks beyond the bounds of time
When what ye now deplore
Shall rise in full immortal prime
And bloom to fade no more.

62 Barker. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Phinehas Barker who died March 18, 1817 AEt 72.

Not the best deeds that we have done
Can make a wounded conscience whole
Faith is the grace & faith alone
That flies to Christ & saves the Soul.

- 63 Barker. In Memory of Miss Mehitable Barker died May 21 1833 AEt. 80.
- 64 Johnson. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Phebe Johnson y^e wife of Mr. John Johnson who died April y^e 15, 1741 aged 58 8 months & 25 days.
- 65 Frye. In Memory of Mr. Jonathan Frye who departed this Life Feb^y 2^d 1788 in the 72 year of his age.

At seventy two my trancient breath resign^d
My Soul took wings among y^e Etherial kind
And left her mortal partner here to lay
Until the glorious Resurrection Day.

- 66 Swan. Here lyes the body of Mrs. Deborah Swan the wife of Mr. Asie Swan who died January y^e 30 1724 & in 32 year of her age.
- 67 Osgood. John George Osgood son of Mr. Joseph & Mrs. Margaret Osgood died May y^e 17 1754 aged 1 year 7 months & 16 days.
- 68 Osgood. In Memory of Margaret Osgood Dau of Mr. Joseph & Mrs. Margaret Osgood who died Octo 25 1762 Aged 1 year 11 months & 21 days.
- 69 Osgood. In Memory of Mrs. Sarah Osgood Consort of Dr. George Osgood who died March 17, 1813 AEt. 50.

Virtue, not rolling suns, the mind matures
That Life is long, which answers life's great end.

- 70 Osgood. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Osgood, Consort of Dr. George Osgood who departed this life May 22 1802 AEt. 42.
- 71 Osgood. Sacred to the Memory of Dr. Joseph Osgood M. S. Soc. Deacon of the First Church in Andover who departed this life 11th Jan^y 1797 AEtat 78.

His God sustains him in his final hour
His final hour brings glory to his God!

- 72 Osgood. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Margaret Osgood Relict of Dr. Joseph Osgood who departed this life 16 February 1797 AEtat 77.

Heaven gives us friends to bless the present scene
Resumes them to prepare us for the next.

- 73 Holt. In Memory of Moley Holt (dau^r of Mr. Jedediah Holt & Mrs. Febe his wife) who died April 18th 1784 in the 11th year of her age.
Sleep lovely child
Take thy rest
God calls thee soon
Because he thinks it best.
- 74 Osgood. Abigaill the Daughter of Mr. Josiah & Abigail Osgood who died January 13th 1737 Aged 7 years.
- 75 Here lyes Buried y Body of Mrs. Abigail Osgood wife to Mr. Josiah Osgood who departed this Life October 24th A. D. 1747 aged 36 years.
- 76 Phillips. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Hannah Phillips Daut^r of Samuel Phillips Esq^r and Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips who departed this Life June y^e 15th A. D. 1764 in y^e 23^d year of her Age.
Consuming sickness spoil'd y^e lovely form
And death consign'd her to her kindred worm
The day advanceth when ye saint shall rise
With sparkling glory & ascen^d y^e skies.
- 76½ Phillips. Theodore Son of Samuel and Elizabeth Phillips born Sept 6, 1745 died Dec. 1, 1758. AEt. 13.
- 77 Phillips. Elizzbeth Phillips Daught^r of Samuel Phillips Esq. & Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips died April 19, 1757 aged 18 months.
- 78 Clark. Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Mrs. Lydia Clark wife to Doct^r Parker Clark Daug^r of y^e Rev^d Mr. Samuel Phillips who departed this Life Nov 4th A. D. 1740 Aged 39 years 4 months & 25 days.
She left Four children.
- 79 Phillips. Elizabeth Phillips Daut^r of Mr. Samuel & Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, died June 24 1748 aged 7 months & 24 days.
- 80 Samuel Phillips Son of Mr. Samuel & Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips died Decb^r 24th 1744 aged 13 months & 17 days.
- 81 Barnard. Here lyes y^e Body of Mr. John Barnard Stud^t of H. College son of y^e Revn^d Mr. John &

- Mrs. Sarah Barnard who died Oct^r 4 Anno Domi
1739 aged 16 years & 5 months.
- 82 Phillips. Theodore Phillips son of Mr. Samuel &
Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips died Janr^y 25th 1739/40
aged 8 months & 23 days.
- 83 Barnard. Here lyes y^e Body of Hannah Barnard
Dau^r of Mr. Theodore & Mrs. Hannah Barnard who
died Sep^t 21st Anno Domⁿⁱ 1736 in y^e 13th year of
her age.
- 84 Osgood. Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Capt. Samuel
Osgood who departed this Life June 20 A. D.
1748 in y^e 46th year of His Age.
- 85 Frye. Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Mrs. Hannah
Frye wife of Cap^t Nathaniel Frye who departed this
Life August y^e 4th 1765 in y^e 66 year of her Age.
- 86 Phillips. In Memory of the Hon. Samuel Phillips
Esq. who died Aug 21st 1790 aged 76

and of

Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips his Consort who died Nov
29th 1789

Aged 73.

Mr. Phillips sustained various important offices with
fidelity. This pair were friends to order in the
family, church and Commonwealth, Examples of
Industry & Economy & Patrons of Learning & Re-
ligion.

- 87 Stevens. Here lyes buried the body of Hannah
Stevens who died December 20 1734 & in the 30
year of her age.
- 88 Foster. Here lyes buried the body of Lidea Foster
the daughter of David and Lidea Foster who died
August the 24 1736 & in 17 year of her age.
- 89 Sessions. Here lyes buried the body of Mary Ses-
sions daughter of Mr. Samuel and Mrs. Mary Ses-
sions who died July y^e 12 1736 & in the 22^d year
of her age.
- 90 Foster. Here lyes the body of David Foster the
son of Mr. David Foster & Lidea who departed this
Life y^e 22 December 1736 aged 20 years.

- 91 Spofford. Mr. Isaac Spofford departed this Life Augst 9th 1802 AEtat 39.
Death's sudden stroke dissolved my feeble frame
Reader, prepare—your fate may be the same
Renounce your sins, by faith to Jesus fly
Then welcome death, 'tis gain for you to die.
- 92 Johnson. Here lies the body of Mrs. Lydia Johnson wife to Mr. John Johnson Jun^r who departed this Life Oct y^e 18 1750.
- 93 Abbet. Here lyes buried the body of Thomas Abbet Jun^r who died March y^e 19 1729 and in y^e 22^d year of his Age.
- 94 Osgood. Here lyes the body of Mrs. Hannah the wife of Left John Osgood died Sept y^e 6 1735 aged 71 years.
- 95 Osgood. Here lyes buried the body of Lieut John Osgood who died April y^e 22 1725 and in y^e 72nd year of his age.
- 96 Osgood. Thomas Osgood, son of Mr. Joseph & Mrs. Margaret Osgood died Febr^y 28th 1752 Aged 4 months 16 days.
- 97 Osgood. Here lyes Buried the body of John Osgood Esq who departed this Life Novb^r y^e 22^d 1765 in y^e 83^d year of his age.
- 98 Osgood. Memento Mori. In Memory of Mrs. Hannah Osgood the widow of Maj^r John Osgood who departed this Life Dec^r the 26th 1774 Aged 89 years and 10 months.
- 99 Barnard. Sarah Barnard daughter of y^e Revn^d Mr. John and Mrs. Sarah Barnard died May 18 1719 aged 20 days.
- 100 Spofford. Rooxbe M. Spofford died June 20 1815 aged 16 years, Benjamin H. Spofford died Nov. 25 1815 aged 10 days, children of Mr. Moody and Dolly Spofford.
- 101 Checkerin. Zechariah, son of Mr. Samuel and Hannah Checkerin, who died July y^e 11 1729 aged 1 month 29 days.
- 102 Osgood. Here lyes buried the body of Sara y^e

- daughter of Mr. William & Mrs. May Osgood who died July 19 1738.
- 103 Osgood. Here lyes buried the Body of William y^e son of Mr. William and Sarah Osgood who died March y^e 14th 1738 aged in y^e 13th year of His Age.
- 104 Osgood. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Sarah Osgood the wife of William Osgood who died June 3 1728 in y^e 30 year of her age.
- 105 Barnard. Here lyes buried the body of y^e Revern^d Mr. Thomas Barnard who departed this Life October 13 Anno Domⁱ 1718 aetatis suae 62.
- 106 Barker. Here lyes the body of Mrs. Mary Barker wife to Capt John Barker who departed this life May 1 1703 in 52 year of her age.
- 107 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of Ephraim Barker who died the 10th February 1718 & in the 22^d year of his age.
- 108 Peeters. Phebe y^e daughter of Samuel and Phebe Peeters aged 3 years died August y^e 10 1702.
- 109 Peters. Here lyes the body of Mr. Andrew Peters who deceased December y^e 14 1713 in y^e 79 year of his Age.
- 110 Allin. Here lyes the body of John Allin who deceased the 20th of April 1712 in y^e 24 year of his age.
- 111 Poor. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Poor, relict of Mr. Peter Poor, who died Sep 7 1813 aged 64.
- 112 Frye. In Memory of Colonel James Frye who departed this Life Janr^y the 8th 1776 AEtatis 66.
While in the Continental service supporting the Independence of the United States of America.
Homo fuit.
- 113 Frye. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Frye Consort to Coll James Frye who departed this Life Decem^r 8th 1756 in y^e 43^d year of Her Age.
- 114 Frye. Phebe Frye, Dau^r of Col^o James Frye and Sarah his wife died March 10th 1761 aged 2 years 7 months & 4 days.

- 115 Frazier. In Memory of Elizabeth Frazier, who died Dec^r y^e 6 1762 in y^e 6th year of her age.
- 116 Frazier. In Memory of Nath Frazier who died on ye same day his sister died aged 11 months & 21 days. Both buried in this grave. Children of Mr. Nath & Mrs. Elizabeth Frazier.
- 117 Frazier. In Memory of Rebecca Frazier daughter of Mr. N & Mrs. E. Frazier who departed this Life Decem^r 16th 1762 in y third year of her age.
- 118 Stevens. Here lyes what was mortal of Mrs. Susannah Stevens widow to Benjamin Stevens Esq and Daug^r of y^e Rev^d Mr. Zechariah Symmes of Bradford who died July 30th 1753 in y^e 83 year of Her Age.
- 119 Ingalls. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Ingalls wife of Mr. Jonathan Ingalls who died Oct 24 1816 AEt 53.
- 120 Raynor. In Memory of Mrs. Ann Raynor of Charlestown Obt March 14 1814 AEt 67.
- 121 Ingals. In Memory of Deborah Ingals Daut^r of Lieut John & Mrs. Deborah Ingals who died Nov^r 16 1762 in y^e 5th year of her age.
- 122 Chickering. Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Elizabeth wife of Capt. John Chickering who died Feb 11 1741 and in the 42 year of her age.
- 123 Osgood. Sasanah Osgood the daughter of Mr. Ebenezer and Rebekah Osgood departed this Life October 13, 1737 in the 22^d year of her age.
- 124 Osgood. Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Rebekah the wife of Insign Ebenezer Osgood who departed this Life Nov 29 1760 aged 81 daughter of the Rev^d Mr. Zachariah Symmes first paster in Bradford.
- 125 Osgood. Here lies buried the Body of Insign Ebenezer Osgood who departed this Life January 25 1766 in the 81st year of his Age.
- 126 Frye. In Memory of Mrs. Betsy Frye wife of Cap^t John Frye who died July 31, 1813 AE 53.
 Don't weep my friends but dry your tears
 Here I must lie till Christ appears
 Then burst the bars with sweet surprise
 And in my Saviours image rise.

(To be continued)

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY AND THE
LETTERS OF ABBOT KINSMAN FROM
SAN FRANCISCO, THE PACIFIC,
HONG KONG AND THE
PHILIPPINES.

Contributed by Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe

INTRODUCTION

Abbot Kinsman was the youngest son of Nathaniel Kinsman and Rebecca Chase Kinsman and was born in Macao in October, 1844. His father, as partner of a New York firm, went to China with his family in 1843, and died in Macao in 1847. Abbot sailed in the ship *Shirley* from New York with his cousin, Captain Nathaniel Brown, Jr., as master, August, 1862. His diary and his letters, written to his mother and his two brothers, run from August 1862 through June 14, 1864. Shortly after his last letter was written, he died at Iloilo in the Philippines.

During the Spanish American War one of our soldiers found his grave there and sent back a photograph of it to the Salem News.

Captain Nathaniel Brown, Jr. was born in 1827 and in 1852, married Eliza Kinsman Southwick, the niece of Nathaniel Kinsman. Like his father, he followed the sea as a profession and became a shipmaster. He commanded several fine vessels, among them the ships *Swallow* and *Shirley*, leaving the latter ship in San Francisco in July, 1863, and sending her to China in command of his mate, Captain John Mullin of Salem. Captain Brown was a member of the Salem East India Marine Society and of the old Salem Marine Society, being the master of the latter. In the city government he was Alderman, Mayor 1870-71, and City Treasurer. He died in 1879.

THE JOURNAL

Friday August 15th 1862. Very pleasant. After bidding them all goodbye down at Staten Island Nat and I came up to New York to go to sea. The pilot came on board about half past eleven and at twelve we started, with the tug boat down the harbor. At three o'clock P.M. the



ABBOT KINSMAN

Born in China and died on July 4, 1864, at Iloilo, Philippine Islands
where he was engaged in business

pilot and the tug boat left us. We had scarcely any wind at all when the pilot left us but after the sun went down a fine breeze sprung up from the N.W. There was considerable swell but I did not feel at all sea sick until I came down in the cabin to turn in. We walked the deck until ten P.M. and at times it seemed as though I was walking on air. *Saturday August 16th* 39.30.N. 71.18.W. Cloudy without much wind. My room is on the port side, and last night was on the leeward side, but not withstanding that, a sea came bouncing in through the open window, and wet me and my bed all over. I turned out with some difficulty as the berth is some four feet from the floor, turned the matterass over and got out a dry blanket, got in again, and slept very well all the rest of the night Mr. May the second mate and I know several of the same people in Salem, and talking about them wondering what they were doing etc, made me feel rather down in the mouth I smoked a cigar today the first one since I have been out. I did not know as I would ever smoke again I felt so miserable the first two or three days *Tuesday Aug. 19th* No observation. We had a severe southerly gale and the sea running very high. I never wish to get shaken up any more than I have been today. About twelve the *Shirley* was hove to, under close reef main topstail. She shipped a great many heavy seas before she was hove to. I laid on the Transome all the morning thinking my last day had surely come, and that I should repose my head beneath the wave After dinner I went on deck for the first time today. She was still rising and falling on immense waves that seemed as though they would swallow her up they were so high above her deck *Thursday August 21st* 39.10 N. 58.00 W. The sun came out yesterday and Nat taught me how to read the sextant. Today I took my first observation of the sun, and Capt said I did very well, differing only one mile from him in the altitude. When we came down in the cabin he taught me how to work the Latt. from the observation. I do not yet know how to work the Long. but hope to soon. We are in the Gulf Stream, and my opinion of it is very poor.

Friday Aug. 22d, 1862. 37.57 N. 55.09 W. Pleasant.

A pretty brisk fair wind sprung up last evening. I have learned a good deal about the sails today, but do not know what ropes belong to each sail.

Saturday Aug. 23d 36.08 N. 53.50 W. Rather cloudy we were obliged to go to the bow today to take the sun as we were heading directly for it at twelve o'clock, when it (is) taken. It seemed as though the sun would never begin to go down. Capt. and I were tired of waiting so left the mate to take it. We have had a head wind all day. I always had an idea that a ship could not sail with the wind ahead. A ship sails best when the wind is on her beam. Sat up with Mr. May the second mate, who is a young fellow from Salem until half past eleven, or seven bells. The sea day commences at twelve o'clock now, and ends the next noon. It is divided into seven watches; five of four hours each, and two of two hours each. The latter two are called the dog watches and are from four P.M. until eight P.M. They are to change the times of the mates watches. If it were not for this, the same mate would have eight hours at each night. Cut my whiskers off this afternoon, and it changed me very much.

Sunday Aug. 31st. This evening I caught a pretty good-sized dolphin and we had it for supper. It tasted good but rather dry as all deep water (fish) do. There was a homeward bound vessel in sight all day. This morning we could see a water-spout. Later in the morning we saw some porpoise and blackfish in the distance. We are seventeen days out today, but it does not seem so long. Saw a great many flying fish. Saturday learned how to work up the longitude by dead reckoning. That is taking the distance that she has made during the several hours of the day from the log slate and working through, finding the variation from the different courses sailed.

Sunday Sept. 7th. The moon was perfectly splendid tonight. I went up as far as the crosstrees this evening and the deck looked very small from up there. *Wednesday* afternoon it began to be squally—in the evening the lighting was very vivid all round, but more so in the South. It seemed as though they must make it about there somewhere, as they were so abundant in giving it out.

Friday—wind very baffling. Tacked ship twice. I have been aloft only as far as the mizzen top which is the first landing from the deck. Threw a bottle over today with the Latt. and Long. sealed up in it, from which ship, etc. Soon after dinner signalized the Swedish Barque *Digden*. Gave her our name and asked her to report us. It was quite a novelty to me to see signalizing. It is done by different kinds of flags which are numbered, and against these numbers in the signal book are different sentences most likely to come of use at sea.

Monday 8th—Took the S.E. trade today and are going along nicely The first Sunday out it did not seem at all like this day; but now it does for Capt. & I read our Prayer books and keep more quiet than week days.

Saturday Jan. 2d 1863—It is a long time since I have written in my journal New Year's day passed about the same as any other day. In the afternoon I went down below decks and helped pass up water. While I was down there, she put the T. S. Forecastle under water, and washed two men that were up there down on deck As we are within a few days sail of San Francisco with a fair wind, we are anxious to arrive. The nearer we get the more desirous of arriving I am. This evening for the first time I saw a lunar bow, it was not very distinct.

Sunday, Jan. 4th—We walked deck two hours. After dinner wrote and sat in the T. S. F. a while, then came in and finished "Adam Bede." I didn't like the ending much. I saw a whale this morning. Weather as mild as summer. Beautiful evening. Full moon. I wish we could get a breeze and arrive before this moon is gone One hundred and forty two days out today. These last two weeks have seemed like months to me. I dread to hear the war news when we arrive The sight of a female will be good for sore eyes. Capt. says he hopes we shall see one before next Sunday night. I am sure I do, though I wish they might be friends instead of strangers.

Jan. 5th Monday. Last night a few moments before twilight a little breeze sprung up.

So good ship go,

For a fair wind on you doth blow;

That we may the sooner hear from our friends,
Which for a long absence may make amends.

Jan 7th Wednesday—Weather pleasant but the motion of the ship very unpleasant, as she rolls very much. Things at dinner table today were playing Isaac & Josh even though they were chocked.¹ Soup poured out of the tureen as though someone were tipping (it) . . . Saw two birds sitting in the water last night. They were whistling and for all the world it sounded like Yankee Doodle. A sailor went down in a bowline today and knocked in the Horse plugs, and while I was out there seeing him do it, we went by a wooden spar, very near all covered with barnacles. It is the first time I have seen any drift wood since we have been out. It seems like getting in now, getting her eyes open—Hawser holes.

Jan. 8th. This morning got the anchors over the sides—fished them—and a good job it was too. After that got sixty fathoms of cable up. After the chain was put out and made fast to the anchor, we were pulling in the slack when the rope broke and down we went on deck. . . . I got a ducking full and from “Old Nep” about two weeks ago, while sitting on “Chip’s” bench.² *Jan 9th* It looks like getting there now as we are only about sixty miles from “Farlones” IIs, which are somewhere near 28 miles from “Frisco.” I can hardly realize that tomorrow we may hear from home . . . Put a lantern over the bow tonight—have not had one over before, since leaving New York.

Jan 10th Saturday. Took a pilot this morning at four o’clock. He told Capt. he stood in pretty boldly. Farallon light bore N.W. from us, and Capt. said he expected to see it bearing N.E. Were not able to get in on account of light winds and calm. *Jan. 11th Sunday.* Let go the anchor this morning at four, hove it up again at eight. Came to anchor off N. point dock at twelve. Went ashore in a boat with Capt. and Mr. Allen. Went and got our letters, and came aboard ship which was lying along side

1 “Chocked” fastened so they would not roll.

2 “Chip’s bench” Chips—the ship’s carpenter, the name always used for the carpenter on shipboard.

the wharf towards evening and had something to eat. How good it did seem to eat some fresh meat. *12th Monday.* George Chase was aboard this morning and was glad to see us—Went up to dine with him at four and had a first rate time. He has a nice wife *13th* Went to call on Mr. Cook & wife with Nat this evening. George's wife was there and Mr. and Mrs. Shreve Mr. Noyes left a note requesting me to come and dine with his family this evening. I went and had a very pleasant time. He has a very pretty daughter.

16th Friday. Nat & I went out to Ben Howards and passed the evening by invitation, and had a high old time. There is a young lady staying there by the name of Lotty Brown and a very nice young lady—*17th Saturday.* In the afternoon found Mr. Gillespie an old friend of Mother's in China. He asked me to come and take Tiffen with himself and wife tomorrow. I am going. *18th Sunday*—Started for Mr. Noyes's. Miss Lizzie & I walked to church together and heard Starr King³ preach. I went to Trinity Church to meet Mr. & Mrs. Gillespie. Walked home with Mrs. G. She said that she had held me many a time in her arms, and it made her feel quite old to see me so large. Their house is but a short distance from the ship and in plain sight on a hill. *19th Monday*—Rained in torrents this morning, P.M.—held up and Nat & I went up in town for a few moments. Muddy as the old Harry. *20th Tuesday.* Staid aboard all day. Some Chinamen have engaged passage over to Hong Kong. In the evening went to the theatre with Nat & George Chase. The play was first rate. *22d Thursday.* Pierson Ward⁴ was down here this morning & took Nat & I up town in a hack. Carried one of Nat's birds out to George's Evening I went with Mr. May and Mr. Buchanan to the Bella Union, was disgusted. *25th* went to Ben Howard's. Had a very nice time. Miss Lottie wanted me to give her a photograph

3 Starr King—1824-1864, an eminent Unitarian clergyman. In 1848 he was pastor of the Hollis Street Church in Boston. In 1860 he was called to the only Unitarian Church in San Francisco.

4 Pierson Ward, a Salem man with the firm of T. F. Hunt in Hong Kong. Died in the China Sea in 1871.

I had taken in Boston, but as it was the only one I had left, I wanted to keep it. She tried very hard to get (it), but she could not touch the tender point. She is a very nice young lady. She gave me one of her photographs. *25th Sunday.* After church Mrs. S. introduced me to Mrs. Watkins, another friend of Mother's in China. She wished me to see her son Jim, who was a playmate of Nats in Macao. *26th Monday.* Went ashore to meet Jim Watkins. At five Jim and I walked up to his house and dined at half past. They gave me their photographs and one of Mr. Watkins (Commodore). He was away. I got up to come away about eight, but they would not hear of it: nothing would do but I must stay all night, so I had to of course. Jim and I sat and talked until about twelve when we both turned into one bed. It seemed very queer to get into a bed. Jim and I walked into town the next morning after my thanking Mrs. W for her kindness. Jim said he wished that I could stay longer in San Frisco for then he could introduce me to some of the girls of his acquaintance. Came aboard ship which had dropped some distance down the bay, in a hurry for I knew I had been playing truant. Nat said I ought not to have stayed for if the wind had been fair they might have gone without me. Went up to George Chases to bid them goodbye. 5 P.M. came aboard ship. About nine Pilot paid out more chain, and we were quite huffy to think that he would not take us out. He has too much of the old woman about him (too careful). *Feb. 3d. Tuesday.* We sailed from Frisco Jan'y 28th. Pilot left us about five P.M. Sent some letters back by him. We have been rolling about more or less ever since then. Most of the Chinamen were quite seasick. I was a little. Felt blue for three or four days, at the prospect of being away from home so long but feel all right again now. *Feb. 6th Friday.* Day before yesterday it blew like fury at times, accompanied by heavy rain. Just before eleven A. M. furled the T. S. Came down in my room and was reading when it began to rain in great drops. The rain stopped and I heard Capt. sing out in a hurried tone of voice let go Topsail halliards fore and aft, call all hands and haul up the mainsail. I thought some-

thing must be to pay, so ran on deck as hard as I could clippit, and saw a whirlwind passing astern of us, very near, taking up the water in the form of spray as high as our main truck. Second mate and Capt. were as white as brown people can turn in a minute. It shook us a little but as we were out of the worst of it, it did us no damage. He caught a glimpse of it just as the rain lifted. Kept her under three lower Topsails and foresail the rest of the day. Low barometer indications of high winds and Cyclones. Wove ship⁵ in the afternoon to S.E. wove again in the Evening and made sail. *Feb. 9th Monday.* Capt. and I knocked out the stern windows this morning. It is very warm and pleasant. *Saturday A.M.* we were to the Westward of the Sandwich Islands, a very quick run. Capt. never made them in so short a time in any Clipper ship he has been in. The old *Shirley* is a P.B.⁶ and has been tearing no mistake. Eight, nine, ten, eleven, and at times more, all the time. Give her a good breeze and she will go, for she can carry sail longer than most ships, but she will not go for any gentle zephyrs. *17th Tuesday.* There is very little going on—The Chinamen amused me very much at first but not so much now. There are two big bugs who have a room in the Between deck, and one of them talks English first rate. Saturday last I went up to the Mizzen T. yard to try to catch a booby⁷ after supper, but could not corner it as I was somewhat afraid, and he was afraid. We had no Monday this week having left it out, as we crossed the Meridian of 180°. So when I get home I can say, if I don't come back this way again and pick it up, that I have lived one day less than a person the same age as myself. *Friday 20th.* The other evening I went down Between decks and had a splendid treat of Chinese eatables, and topped off with a splendid cigar which Quam Yum gave me, he is one of the big bugs, and about my own age. Last night I smoked Opium only one pipe full however, as I did not like the taste of it much. One

5 "Wove ship" to wear, to cause to go about by putting the helm up instead of down as in tacking.

6 *Shirley* a P. B. Possibly for packet boat, noted for speed.

7 A tropical sea bird.

pipe full consists of one dram and a spit out. There are only three regular opium smokers among the forty-five that we have. Went out forhead with the men last evening and staid until about eleven. Oh! such yarns as sailors can spin. This afternoon I was sewing on a sail when we passed a large spar. It must have come from some ship as there are no currents likely to bring it here from the land. *March 7th Saturday* Lots of birds flying round, caught one but let it go again. Caught a bird (off of) the boat and brought it down in the cabin on my finger to show Nat. Carried it on deck again and was considering which way I would kill it, when away it flew.

Ship *Shirley* Feby 25th 1863

Wednesday afternoon

Long. 157° 20 E. Latt. 17° 18 W

My dear Mother and Brothers

We are now more than half way from "Frisco" to Hong Kong. We were ten days to the Sandwich Islands and passed between the most northern two. A very quick passage. Nat never made them in less than ten days in any clipper ship. When the pilot left we had a stunning breeze which lasted us to the Islands. Wind has been dead aft or a little on the quarter all the time I should not be able to write much as I was so warm when I sat down, and have not cooled off yet. It is as warm here now as it is at home the first part of July Nat and I have played cribbage a great deal since we came out from San Francisco The chinamen are a source of much amusement to me. I go down between decks sometimes and talk pigeon English to them, and most of them understand quite well. One of the gentlemen Chinamen talks English very well, he is a young fellow about my age, and has been to school in "Frisco" and sometimes he gets me into his room and feeds me high. It surprised him to see me eat with chop sticks so well. I have smoked opium once, there are only two draws in a pipe and that is all I smoked. It had no effect on me, but I don't like the taste of it much. There are only three regular opium smokers on board, and two of these are as thin and pale as Chinamen can look. The other one has not smoked long he says. They get up



SHIP SHIRLEY

Stone, Silsbee & Pickman, owners, Nathaniel Brown, master
From a painting by a Chinese artist, owned by the Peabody Museum

the greatest messes to eat that I ever saw. They furnish every thing but wood and water.

Saturday March 7th. Since I last wrote we have passed Farallon Island, one of the Marriion Islands. We went within four miles of it. The one next south of it is forty miles off but still we could see it. They are volcanic islands and one of the ones we passed we could see the courses where perhaps the lava had once poured down. I sketched it.

March 17th Tuesday. We are now in Hong Kong Harbor where we arrived last Sunday. We have been on shore once Nat and I went up to Augustin Heard & Co.⁸ house and saw Mr. Parker, one of the firm, Thomas Hunt's, the consul's and one or two other places. We took a pilot Saturday morning and came to anchor that night about seven miles from here. The Sampan's were a great curiosity to me. We have one for the ship's use. Took the Sampan before we hove up that morning. The pilot did not seem to savey very well but Sam did and was considerable assistance in getting the ship in. (From his Diary) Sampan's were around thicker than hops. We took one for the ship's use, a bully old fellow, the owner of it is too. He has a son who speaks very good English, and a daughter, they all live in the sampan. Coming up a China woman came aboard and wanted our clothes to wash. She came aboard next day and we let her have them. She's pretty good looking. Sunday the day we got in we did not go on shore but went Monday. (Letter continued). 18th Went ashore last night and dined at Mr. Heard's house. There were only five of us all together and oh! such style. Far too much for my comfort, entirely. I had a very pleasant time all things considered. (Diary) Wednesday I went to dine at Mr. Endicott's⁹ or Thomas Hunt's.¹⁰ Nat did not go. I had the most miserable time I ever had at any place in my life. (Letter continued) 23rd We are going back to San Francisco and are to take three

8 A firm established about 1840 after Mr. Heard left Russell, with offices at Shanghai and Hong Kong.

9 With T. F. Hunt firm.

10 Firm of auctioneers and ship chandlers on Pedlar's wharf, Hong Kong.

hundred Chinamen passengers. I would like to come home when we get back there if the ship has no definite prospect of coming home Nat and I talk of going up to Macao this week sometime. Day before yesterday I went ashore with Nat in the afternoon and went up to Mr. Heard's house. There Nat introduced me to Mr. Charles Rantoul, brother of Robert Rantoul in Salem. He used to be up at Shang Hae but left there on account of sickness and is now here doing a little business for himself. He asked me if I did not want to walk up on the peak with him which is a mountain nearly eighteen hundred feet high, back of Hong Kong. We started accompanied by two chairs, & after walking a short distance, we got in to ride a little way before it became too steep for them to carry us. After going a little way farther my chair began to fall behind his and at last they set me down and I jumped out and ran along to his chair which was some distance ahead, set down also by his order but not from fatigue as mine were. We walked all the rest of the way up followed by his chair only, as we sent mine back. My two fellows were puffing and blowing like steam engines, and his two men were not out of wind at all, regular old plodders. When we arrived at the top there was a most magnificent view, we could see all round the island way off to sea. There was a nice house up there and signal pole where ships are signalized, down to the city when they are coming in. We went down the other side and back into the city round the Southern point of the island. I had a first rate time and like Mr. Rantoul very much. I like him better than any person I have been introduced to here yet. He said that he knew Willie very well but did not know Nat.¹¹ Yesterday, Sunday, Nat and I were aboard the *Storm King* all day, to visit Capt. Callaghan, and had a very pleasant time. Friday 27th. Day before yesterday the English mail steamer arrived and brought no letters for us All the Americans here think that our country has gone to the —. We heard a few days ago by way of England that blockades at Mobile and Charleston have been driven away, but we hope it is only an English lie. There are a great many Englishmen here

11 Abbot Kinsman's brothers.

who of course are secesh and print only secesh papers. Yesterday afternoon I went ashore and went to Mr. Heard's house and found Mr. Rantoul in his room. Sat down and talked about an hour and then went to walk. Got back from walk about six and then came aboard ship (in the sampan). It was blowing fresh, and when we put both sails in her, she layed over and skipped through the water I tell you. A gentleman here told me that I would feel unsafe in a Sampan for some time, when it blew fresh, but I have not felt unsafe yet, and I have been in her when she has laid over as much as they will unless they turn over.

28th Saturday. Nat and I went ashore this afternoon and went into some china shops. Nat received a letter from Ben Stone¹² today stating that we were to go to Manila, but it too late now, for we have got a good deal of cargo in for S. F. If we had received it on our arrival we should have gone there and loaded for home. I want to come home, I don't like this place one bit. Write me to S. F. what I shall do please. 29th Sunday It don't seem much like the day for ships are loading, painting, etc, all the same as a week day. Thirtieth Monday Have been up on deck looking at a Barque that came in just after supper and ran in among us vessels, so as not to allow us to swing with the tide without coming in collision. The China pilot did not know any better, I suppose. I have been looking at her clear herself, that is get out where she can swing clear. After we had been here about a week an English ship came in and anchored quite near us. For several days all went right but at last she ran foul of us, but fortunately in the day time. It made them some trouble but did not us much. She came into us twice that day and the next. The first time he had to unship his spanker boom I wish I could have received some letters from you before this mail went but never mind. We shall go up to Macao pretty certain this week. It seems queer to me sometimes that I am on the other side of the world from you I believe the reason of my feeling homesick here is because

¹² Probably the owner of the *Shirley* or agent for the owner.

I have had no letters. Give my love to all enquiring friends and believe me as ever

Affectionately
Abbot Kinsman

Hong Kong April 12th/63
Sunday

My dear Mother,

I sent a letter a few days ago via S. F. directed to Willie, and one previous to that by mail to you In the one to Willie I acknowledged the receipt of them (letters). Yesterday the English mail arrived and I went ashore and got some letters for Nat, and one for the mate, but *none* for my self, and I tell you didn't I feel badly. I never felt so before at not receiving letters I have given up now until the next English mail comes in, which will be in two weeks. The S. F. steamer *Robert Low* is now out forty three days. What is the use in having steamers if they can't come over in less time than sailing vessels. *The Scotland's* last passage across here was forty days. But I won't scold any more but tell you about our junket down to Macao. We started from here at one o'clock p.m. Saturday and arrived there at half past five after having quite a pleasant passage though it did rain. Nat and self went ashore in a Tanker boat with the rain coming down in torrents. Capt Haskell invited us to come and dine at his house at seven, so we went, and had quite a pleasant time. He is Capt. of one of the Canton boats. The company consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Haskell, Mrs. Armstrong, wife of one of the partners of Thomas Hunt's house. Mr. Fearon partner in A. Heard's house and a friend of his whose name I have forgotten, Pierson Ward, Nat and self. About eleven went back to the Royal house where we stayed, and turned in. We got up at six and went on a wild goose chase to find the English burying ground, but could not find the one where Father is buried. So came back to the hotel took two chairs and started again. This time we found it. The picture you have at home looks very much like the grave but not exactly. There are two sisters buried one on each side of him. The name I do not remember.

I took some sprigs from the tree hanging over the grave, and two leaves from a little one in front of it, which we suppose was the one Nat Andrew had planted. I should have taken more but the little thing had but about four on it. The grave yard is fixed up once a year, and is to be fixed up again shortly. It looked quite well when I was there. After staying there some time we went into Camoens garden which is next it. Evening. When we came away from there we gave the chairmen directions to take us to A. Heard's house, but did not go directly there as we expected to, as we thought they understood where to go, but were toted all round, set down at Josh houses and asked to go in but did not as we were late for Mr. Fearon's breakfast then. I forgot to say that he invited us to come and stay with him but afterwards found that there were accommodations but for three, so that Nat and myself thought it best to stay together at the hotel. We arrived there safely at last. After breakfast, which was an eleven o'clock one, I went to call on Mr. Nye with Mr. Haskell, having heard that he requested to see me, as claiming to be an old friend of yours. I asked him about the house we lived in, if I could go in and see it and as much as asked him to go with me. We were going out of his gate as Nat was coming in, I introduced them and we three proceeded on our way. Went all over the house but he could not tell about the rooms, which was which, he said, "well really I can't tell which were used as sleeping rooms or which was the dining room, for there have been so many people living here since that I have got confused." I knew the house the minute that I saw it from the steamboat After we got through our walk it was well into the afternoon and then we went to take a glass of wine with the old fellow, admired his pictures and came away. He gave me a Photograph of a painting that he has of Washington for you A great many things he asked me to say to you, I don't remember them, for they did not amount to much. That evening Nat and I walked on the Praia a little while and then went to bed. Started from there at 9 o'clock Monday A.M. and arrived here at one. I have invitations to go considerably, but I don't care to go and therefore

don't. I had a great deal rather stay aboard ship. I had received more letters by the last mail. I should have been able to write more, most likely but there is not much to write about Hong Kong . . . I wish we were off for I am tired of it. I know that you will all say that I ought to write longer letters from out here where everything must be so new to me. But it does not seem new it seems as if I had been here all my life. I feel as if I wanted to be at home, and that's the amount of it I expect. Capt Callaghan told me if I would go to Liverpool with him he would give me my passage, and then we would go home together, he said, but I am not going. — I must close now—I wish I could have written a longer and pleasanter letter but it will have to do this time. With much love my dear dear mother I remain thy loving son

Abbot Kinsman

(Diary) *April 16* Nat and self have been on board of Capt Callaghan a great many times and went again to-night to a dinner party. Henry Endicot, Pearson Ward, Fred Stone, Mr. Tillinghan, Capt Barstow, Nat and self were there and (had) a jolly good time. Mr. Tillinghast says he has heard R.C.K. spoken of a great many times. He was brought up in Philadelphia and knows the Parishes very well . . . Went ashore again. Went to Messrs Whitmore Cryder & Co. to thank them for sending my letter up to Mr. Heard's house from Willie. *26th Sunday* Capt Callaghan came aboard here soon after tea. His sampan man and ours are brothers. We were down in the cabin, when the three sampan girls came on deck and looked down the skylight. The two from Capt C's and the one from ours whose name is Aloy, and a very pretty girl . . . Aloy gave me a chow chow bowl and a pair of chop stocks. All the China passengers are on board, and oh! such a noise as they do make jabbering. *27th Monday* At four o'clock this morning got under way. The sampan left us about eight. *May 12th* After supper Nat and I were walking deck and it was dead calm. I was just thinking how nice it would be to have a swim and looking over the stern saw a shark. Got the shark hook, baited it and caught him. Cut him open and found he had nothing in him. I never

saw anything so tenacious of life as they are. After he was cut open and the back bone separated from the flesh, he swung round in a manner and with a force, that no one seemed to want to get in the way of it. He was about five feet long. Gave it to the Chinamen. *May 6th Wednesday.* Soon after breakfast one of the men was washed overboard from the head, hove too lowered a boat and picked him up. He was some distance from the ship. *23rd Saturday.* It is getting to be quite cool now as we get farther north. Day before yesterday I caught some Portuguese men of war, and some inhabited shells, the latter were very beautiful when first caught and examined with a microscope. All round the mouth of the shell on the outside is a part of the fish which constitutes the beauty, it is a sort of a pinkish color the shell is of a slatish white, and underneath all are great numbers of air vessels on which the creature floats. The Portuguese need no description they are simply an oval flat fish with a sort of sail running triangularly. There are great quantities of them, some are white and some blue. I caught them with a net Sam made me in H.K. *29th Friday* Oh! dear, shall we never get a fair wind . . . All day yesterday a seal was playing round the ship, and after supper Nat had a shot at him with his revolver. The first shot went within about two feet of him. He shook his head at us and then dove. Had another shot at him under the stern, which seemed as if it must have struck him, but he appeared about five minutes afterwards way astern, and seemed to be all right. His head was quite small and appeared to have ears making it look very much like a Black and Tan terrior dog's head. I never saw such an one before. Today at noon there were two whales in sight one black and one white. There are quite a number of birds round now at nighttime and make a tremendous noise. The Chinamen picked up a row today and were going to whip chops (chips?). Had one in irons the other day for stealing beef. *Thursday 11th June.* We have had foggy weather now for a week and have hardly had one good observation. We have however a fair wind now . . . *July 6th.* We arrived the 25th of June, came into the wharf Monday after. Went out to

Ben Howard's house the same Monday and had a good time. Miss Lottie was very *agreeable* indeed. Day before yesterday was the 4th I went around with George Fabens and Haskell in the morning, and went with Mr. Mullin in the evening to see the Fireworks. Yesterday Sunday I went to church with Miss Lottie Brown and after going home with her went out to the Watkins. Stayed until 5 P.M. Came aboard with damned sore heels . . .

Hong Kong, Nov. 14th, 1863

My dear Mother, I have not commenced a letter to you before, for the reason that I have had nothing under the sun to write about . . . Everything is very monotonous, go ashore and come off aboard, and sometimes go off aboard some other ship, as I did today. After I had been on shore a few moments this morning, Capt. Creesy asked me to go afloat with him, that is go aboard on his ship. I accepted his invitation for a change and had quite a pleasant visit. He lives in Wenham when at home, and the other day scraped acquaintance with me, by asking if he had not seen me in Salem, what my name is, etc. He is quite a jolly old bird and this afternoon I staid to dinner he called a Chinaman into the Cabin and gave him a big galvanic shock. It was fun in the extreme I tell you to see the fellow twich, at first he said "no, no" but could not speak after it got going, until we stopped grinding. Then he said "J—" and ran out of the Cabin as fast as he could for fear he would have to take another one.

Capt. Sewall is here you know him he was down on board ship in New York one day with Nat when you and Eliza were there. He's a mighty nice man and I like him exceedingly. He came up here passenger in a ship from Melbourne and thinks of going home and is very desirous that I should go with him, across from here to Frisco, in sailing ship, and from there in Steamer. I don't think I shall go though it very enticing, having such a pleasant travelling companion as I think he would make. The mail steamer is now at Singapore under going repairs as she has broken down. I can't say I expect letters from you by her, as I suppose you thought when the mail left home, that we were on our way there. Though by this time I



CAPT. JOHN MULLIN



CAPT. NATHANIEL BROWN

hope you have received my first letter from here, informing you of the state of affairs. I have not heard from Shanghai yet, but hope to soon, and if everything suits I think I shall go up, and by steamer too though it does cost considerable. I don't wish to go up in a *ship* and have to beat up all the way against the N.E. Monsoon, I might save some money by it, but there would be five weeks time gone. I can go up in the Foh Kien in four days, quite a difference. Saturday AM. I have a few moments to finish this letter to you for tomorrow's mail. I hope when you hear from me definitely as to my prospects you will write. Sugar is declining, or rather the price of it is, and may go down to limits, if so the ship will probably come home and may bring me. So with my best love to you, my dear Mother,

I remain as ever
your afft. son
A. Kinsman

PS. Of course, give my love to the rest of the household and relations.

Hong Kong Dec. 11th, 1863
Friday evening.

My dear Mother,

I expect to sail tomorrow in the *Daring* for Manila, and should have commenced this letter sooner if I had had anything of importance to write. Capt. Hutchinson of the *Malay* has treated me with great politeness since he has been here, has asked me on board of his ship a great many times, and I have been a good many. He is one of the most pleasant acquaintances I have made here. I met Mrs. Delano yesterday in the street and she asked why I had not been up to see them. I told her I was very much ashamed of myself for not having been, and would try to get up there before I went to Manila.

Day before yesterday I walked up on the peak with Mr. Edwards, partner in the House of Peele, Hubbell in Manila. I don't see why *he* should take such a fancy to me. I never came across such a walker in my life. He is, I should judge about thirty five years of age, and I have heard since that he is given to athletic feats. I don't know

what he is over here for, business transactions I suppose. My passage in the *Daring* is twenty dollars. I run the risk of being picked up by the *Alabama*¹³ as she is in the China Sea, somewhere. She has burnt two ships that were passing through the Straits of Sunday, bound home from Manila. The names I have forgotten. It is supposed that she will not come up this way during the Monsoon. The *Wyoming* is, or was outside of Singapore from last accounts. As she went in, the *Alabama* was on the opposite side of a small island from her. It does seem a shame that she can't be captured, while at anchor, but by the neutrality act it can't be did. It seems that when the *Wyoming* went in it was evening and a boat went off to her from shore with dispatches thinking it was the *Alabama*, but they were mistaken to their cost, as the dispatches were seized. There have been several American ships gone down the sea, and I hope she won't catch them. John Bull is tickled, and I think the *Alabama* gets so much for every American ship she burns, for he profits by it. One of these days I hope he will be fixed out nicely, and then he will laugh the other side of his mouth, and we will have the laugh on our side. Oh! don't I hate the Englishmen as a general thing. I do. I think something must have got hold of the mail steamer, for she is several days overdue Sunday AM. The mail steam arrived this AM and Capt. Henry says he shall sail tomorrow. If there are any letters for me I shall be glad to get them before we sail. Yesterday afternoon I went to walk with Capt. Hutchinson out to the trotting park and enjoyed the walk very much. Mr. Edwards told me yesterday that I must go out to his house when I arrived and see his wife. He says W. Huntington¹⁴ is staying there. I have carried all of my things aboard the *Daring* and now all I have to do is to go myself when she is going to sea. I have left my money here with Russell and Co., and they have given me an order to draw on them. I did this, so if we are taken not to loose it When we came on board Duff welcomed me with a purr meow, and is continually jumping up in my lap while I

13 Famous Confederate ship.

14 With Peele, Hubbell & Co. in Manila.

am writing. She is the best natured cat I ever saw. No matter how much we knock her about, she can't stay away from one or other of us more than two minutes at a time, unless she is asleep. Capt. don't allow her in his room so in the evening she always comes in my room and stays. It is all very well for Mr. Delano to tell Capt. H. now, that he liked my ways and appearance, and if it could have been possibly arranged for me to come into their office, he would have kept me here, my private opinion is that he has not thought anything about it You will of course direct to me at Manila care of Messrs Russell & Sturgis. I hope I shall succeed there and shall certainly do the best I can. I know that you will be glad to hear of my success in obtaining a situation. Please give my love to household and friends, and with a large share for yourself,

I remain your
Afft. son
A. Kinsman.

Manila December 22nd, 1863.
Tuesday Evening

My dear William,

I arrived here in the *Daring* last Saturday and should have commenced a letter home sooner, had I not been so busy. We had a very pleasant passage over of four days.

After the Spanish Officials had cleared out from the ship, Capt. Henry and myself came ashore in a Banca, the queerest shaped things in the shape of a boat, that I ever saw. They are made of a large tree, and dug or burnt out. We went directly to Messrs. Russell & Sturgis' house and saw the head man Mr. Green. He is a very queer sort of a man, and spoke to me as if he had known me for years, and did not like me, but I have heard since that that is his way. He introduced me to Mr. Pearson who is a very nice young man, and who told me I had better take my things to the Hotel for the present, as the Earth Quake had unsettled their place of residence. It was too late then to do anything about getting my things out of the ship, as they go through the Custom House, and

it was closed. I engaged my room at this house then and there, and have a very nice one on the corner, so I can look into two streets. Sunday. Capt. H and I came ashore for a short time, and yesterday I got my things ashore without any trouble. They only opened the lids of two of my trunks and did not (ask) me to take any thing out. Yesterday afternoon I went to Peele Hubbells house and saw Willie Huntington, who was delighted to see me, and gave me an introduction to the people of the house, one of whom is a young Edwards, brother in law of Mr. Edwards, the gentleman I met in H. K. We, young Edwards and myself, had hardly passed salutations, when he said that his sister told him to bring me up to their house as soon as I made my appearance. After four o'clock when the offices close, Willie and I took a carriage and two horses and drove round to see the sights. Old Manila and new Manila have had a great shaking up, but old Manila seems to have had the worst of it. Immense Cathedrals that were in good order before the Earthquake now are scarcely anything but a heap of stones. A greater portion of the walls of them are standing, but are full of immense cracks. It must have been awful while it lasted though fifteen seconds was sufficient to do all this damage. I can give no kind of a description that would give you an idea of the destruction. A person in my idea must be on the spot. Fifty persons were killed in one of the Churches. After we had driven around Manila considerable we drove out to Mr. Edward's house. I had a *delightful* time. Mrs. E. is a *lady* treated me very handsomely. She said that a few days before they had been thinking of who they would invite to Christmas dinner, and they decided on me. I feel highly honored.

Today I commenced in the office and got along first rate. Office hours are from eight until four. I had a cup of coffee and a piece of toast before I started out this morning, and at half past nine A.M. they have breakfast at the office, at which time all we understrappers grub, and then at two we grub slightly again. The time went pretty long today because I did not have much to do. When the clock strikes four down go the pens, and a general scatter-

ing. After getting out I went to see W. H. but their clock is slower than ours so I did not stop to bother him, but came back here to the Hotel and got some dinner. W. came in with me last night and we made a call on some very pretty girls. How I do wish I knew how to dance. There will not be much fun for me I am afraid until I can dance and talk a little Spanish, I have picked up several words already and think I can learn to dance, when I have such pretty teachers. The girls had me up in the floor trying to teach me last night. They don't laugh at you when you make mistakes. W. H. talks Spanish like everything. P. & H.'s clerks are going to have a house in town shortly, and I shall be glad, for then I shan't have to spend my evenings alone. Wednesday evening. Young Sturgis came back today, he has been to the southerd of Manila somewhere, and came up to my desk and said it was a good four years since he had seen me, and was glad to see me in the office. I don't remember him. I had my hands full today at the office and time passed very quickly. Mr. Green has not spoken to me since I commenced at the office but he has come quite near my desk when he (had) no need to. A Mr. Dudley seems to have the most to do with me. My clothes are residing in my trunks the same as on board ship. Washing is four cents a piece. I have not been here long enough yet to find about things, but in my next letter home, I hope to be able to write you more about the place. A Padre went by my window this evening, and all the Spaniards went on their knees to him. There is an engineer staying in the house, who comes in quite often to see me. The Mail closes tomorrow and I do not dare to write letters in the office yet. I must close tonight. This afternoon I heard that an American Man of War (is) coming up the Bay. I wonder what one it is.

Affect. Brother

Abbott.

The Man of War was the *Wyoming*. Commodore McDougal was at the office this morning at Breakfast.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DIARY OF GEORGE TEMPLETON STRONG. Edited by Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas. 1952, 4 vols., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Macmillan Company. Price, \$35.00.

This excellent diary opens with George Templeton Strong, a lad of fifteen, a sophomore at Columbia University deciding that he would keep a diary as his life seemed to be full of interesting and exciting incidents. He keeps this decision secret and as a result the diary is an uncensored, vivid and up to the minute account of the life and events of his times. Even at his early age, he was a collector of old books, a numismatist and very much interested in the people and happenings which go to make up a city's life. As Mr. Nevins states "Strong was an artist who was consciously trying to render his own city, his own time, and his own personality in such form that later generations could comprehend them, and who put painstaking effort into this task as into everything else that he did, is clearly evident. The diary was plainly written for posterity and the author justly regarded it—hurried though many entries had to be—as one of his public services. The reader who follows this great record from 1835 to 1875 will find himself magically transported back to a bygone republic and a bygone era, to witness a dramatic march of events, and to study a sweeping panorama of social and political change; and he will find that his guide in this adventure is one of the most cultivated, sincere, intelligent, high-minded, and delightful gentlemen that New York ever produced."

Strong's life covers the story of New York which grew from 250,000 people to over a million with its fires, murders, epidemics, fads and daily hullabaloo; the span of political events from Van Buren's administration to Grant's; the account of Columbia University from the viewpoint of a student, alumnus and trustee; the aspects of religion from a man deeply involved in the affairs of his church; the experiences of one deeply in love with music and the theater; and many other exciting and fascinating incidents.

Mr. Strong's half sister married Elias Hasket Derby, third of that name in the great Salem family of merchants. Strong thought a good deal of his relatives and visited them frequently. A trip through Essex County in 1836 elicited the follow-

ing remarks—"July 28—Nahant is a beautiful place, the shore one pile of rocks and crags of every shape, which must present a superb appearance during a north-east gale. We spent a couple of hours walking in every direction and I amused myself by scrambling hither and thither over the rocks, greatly to the dismay of my 'governor.' July 29—We passed through Charlestown and the cobbling city of Lynn and reached Salem (fourteen miles) by a little before nine. The great lion of Salem is the museum of its Marine Society, and thither we went. Mr. Pickman [Benjamin Pickman, Jr.] is one of the directors and he, of course, procured us admission."

Strong speaks of John Greenleaf Whittier as "an American poet about whom I must learn more. *Maud Muller* hits me very hard. It's a sign of real power to make familiar and rather commonplace names and associations effective. It's a good sign that a man who can write with vigor and depth of true feeling ventures to deal with matters of A. D. 1855 and tries to idealize the realities of our daily life." Strong's comments on Nathaniel Hawthorne are more pungent. "I have been reading Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* and don't like them. Great power, much imagination, fertility and felicity of thought and diction, and occasional passages of real beauty. But such a dismal series of ghostly, ghastly charnel-house conceptions I never met with, unless in the author of *Villona Corrombona* perhaps."

The editors have done a fine job in the selection of material from the over four million words which make up the complete diary. The volumes are fully indexed. Strongly recommended to all libraries.

J. P. MARQUAND ESQUIRE, a Portrait in the Form of a Novel.
By Philip Hamburger. 1952, 114 pp., octavo, cloth.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, \$2.00.

Philip Hamburger has created a biographical novel in the very essence and style of one of John Marquand's famous novels. Mr. Marquand has lived a varied and exciting life. He was born in Wilmington, Del., spent his boyhood and adult summers in Newburyport, graduated from Harvard, worked for the *Transcript*, served in World War I, worked in the advertising business, and wrote his first novel *The Unspeakable Gentleman* in 1922. Prior to *The Late Mr. George Apley*, he wrote mostly adventure stories and serials for the *Saturday Evening Post* and other magazines. The success of this novel

changed his writing career. He has since written very successful novels of contemporary American life. Mr. Hamburger has related Mr. Marquand's reminiscences in a very delightful profile in a series of flashbacks. The book will please the many Marquand fans.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLMASTER. By Claude M. Fuess. 1952, 371 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price \$5.00.

This autobiography deals with the life of an outstanding biographer and educator connected with the ever-changing and growing field of American secondary school education and his impact upon it. As Mr. Fuess states "the changes of the last half century in education as well as in scientific discovery have been more far-reaching than those of the preceding thousand years. And the movement is not yet finished! If this is true, the comments, however casual, of one who saw and participated in these developments may be interesting not only to my fellow teachers but even to those citizens who watch education with a blending of fear and hope. This volume should reflect the growth—if I may call it that!—of a schoolmaster who started in the conservative tradition and is ending with a passion for experimentation in the light of new knowledge." Mr. Fuess studied at Amherst and Columbia and was first instructor in English for 25 years and then headmaster for 15 years at Phillips Academy in Andover. His autobiography is full of delightful anecdotes of his career as an educator and he ably portrays in an inimitable way the outstanding men in Andover history such as Harkness, Cochran and Col. Stimson. His lively and appreciative sketches of other school directors are unusual. He has written and edited a long list of textbooks and biographies among which are *The Story of Essex County* and his latest *Joseph B. Eastman*. His skill of writing adds greatly to the fascination and enjoyment of every reader. Recommended to all libraries.

HAWTHORNE'S FICTION: THE LIGHT & THE DARK. By Richard Harter Fogle. 1952, 219 pp., octavo, cloth. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. Price, \$3.75.

As the title of this new book on Nathaniel Hawthorne by Mr. Fogle implies, he has approached Hawthorne with an emphasis on his simplicity and complexity and his outstanding antitheses. "Hawthorne's writing is misleading in its sim-

plicity, which is genuine enough but tempts us to overlook what lies beneath. In the end simplicity is one of his genuine charms—combined with something else. The essence of Hawthorne is, in fact, distilled from the opposing elements of simplicity and complexity. This essence is a clear liquid, with no apparent cloudiness. Hawthorne's tone is equable, 'not harsh nor grating, but with ample power to chasten and subdue.' He is a unique and wonderful combination of light and darkness." Mr. Fogle has presented thought-provoking essays of ten of Hawthorne's novels and short stories including *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of Seven Gables*, *The Blithedale Romance*, *The Maypole of Merry Mount* and others. The first and last chapters appraise and discuss Hawthorne's philosophy. Recommended principally to the student and lover of Hawthorne.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION. By Christopher Ward. Edited by John Richard Alden. 1952, 2 vols., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$15.00.

Dr. Ward has written a comprehensive account of the military operations of the American Revolution. "Its aim is to tell the story of the war on land, the campaigns, battles, sieges, marches, encampments, bivouacs, the strategy and tactics, the hardships, and the endurance of hardship." Dr. Ward's use of the personal eye-witness accounts of the various people involved in the different battles adds zest and drama to the narrative. Of interest to readers in this vicinity will be the accounts of events such as Leslie's Retreat and of the exploits of Essex County people such as Col. Israel Putnam.

"Through six hours of that night, [Retreat from Long Island, Aug. 29-30, 1776] 'the hardy, adroit, weather-proof' Marblehead fishermen of Glover's regiment and Hutchinson's skilled Salem fishermen had rowed and sailed from shore to shore. By seven o'clock in the morning 9,500 men and all their baggage, field guns, and horses, equipment, stores, and provisions, 'even the biscuits which had not been and the raw pork which could not be eaten,' were safe in New York." The above quote will give the reader an idea of the easy, clear-cut and informative style of Dr. Ward. Mr. Alden, who did the excellent editing, after the death of Dr. Ward, added a chapter concerning the war beyond the Alleghenies and George Rogers Clark. There are detailed maps, a glossary of military terms and an index. Recommended to all libraries.

JOHN WISE, EARLY AMERICAN DEMOCRAT. By George Allan Cook. 1952, 246 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University. Price, \$3.50.

This is a long-needed biography of an outstanding Essex County preacher who left his mark on history. "John Wise was chaplain in two military expeditions; leader of his town in protest against an arbitrarily imposed tax; spokesman for one of the earliest versions of the challenge 'No taxation without representation'; defender of democracy in the government of church and state; writer of satire and persuasive argument; and sponsor of paper money, singing by note, and smallpox inoculation." Many of his ideas were far in advance of his times. Dr. Cook has done a lot of research and a lively informative portrait of the preacher against a background of every-day and exciting events is the result. His use of original records adds flavor and veracity to his work. His treatment of the witchcraft delusion is factual and Wise's association with it is that of an enlightened and unbiased person. Recommended to all libraries.

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HOUQUA

By George Chinnery

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXIX APRIL, 1953

No. 2

HOUQUA, SOMETIME CHIEF OF THE CO-HONG AT CANTON (1769-1843)

By ELMA LOINES

Houqua, or Wu Ping-ch'ien, to give his Chinese name, was one of the chief security merchants, limited to thirteen by the Emperor, through whom all foreign trade was conducted in Canton. He was a steadfast friend to the brother and sons of Seth Low of Salem, my mother's grandfather, as well as to many others of that and other towns of the Eastern seaboard, in the early days of the China trade of the 19th Century.

Houqua's name was pronounced at the time as *how* in English, with the suffix *qua* meaning Mr. He was born in Amoy a little Northeast of Canton in 1769, the same year as Wellington and Napoleon and was sixty years old in 1829 when the first of the Salem Lows arrived in Canton.

In that year Mr. William Henry Low, Seth's brother was sent for to be head of the house of Russell & Co., the great American business firm. With him went his wife, Abigail Knapp Low, who was in delicate health and, as her companion, his niece Harriet Low, all of Salem. Mr. Low had to divide his time between Canton and Macao, while the ladies had to live in Macao for no foreign women were allowed in China proper. They dwelt successively in two different houses high up in the town, each surrounded with charming terraced gardens from which they could view the two harbours where foreign vessels anchored. The servants lived on the ground floor.

Houqua himself lived in a palatial residence composed of many houses about a central one, built for himself and

his sons's families on the island of Honan across the river from Canton. But in the city factory he had offices and severely simple living quarters when business was heavy, for he was a man of frugal habits in spite of his immense wealth. This he himself estimated at about twenty-six million dollars, (a sum worth twice that amount in 1882, says W. C. Hunter, when his *Fan Kwae at Canton* was published).

Although born to the Northeast of Canton, Houqua moved down while a young man to the Wu-E, or Bohea Hills, slightly Northwest of the city. Here his family developed large tea plantations and grew Bohea and Congou teas for home use and export.

It may be interesting to note here that *thea viridis* is closely akin to the *Camellia*, now so widely grown in this country in the Southern states and in greenhouses. Tea leaves are not collected until the plant is three years old. After eight years it is replaced and the old ones used for firewood. The tea berry used for lamp oil ripens in October in the Canton district. Shipments of tea abroad begin in March with the new year's crop. Congou means *well worked*, doubtless referring to the rolling of the leaves by hand. Houqua's earlier shipments went to India, London and North America. To this day Houqua tea can be bought at a famous Boston shop. The various names for tea in Chinese were: *tay*, *cha* or *dzo*, according to the locality. Bohea is a large black leaved tea (*ta-cha*). At the height of the trade such teas as Bohea and Congou brought in England from two and sixpence up to sixty shillings a pound, so fine was their quality. In 1882, says Hunter, "common Congou is selling at sixpence farthing."¹

Houqua had at first carried on his extensive exports through the British East India Company. Later the firm of Perkins and Company, through J. P. Cushing of Boston, had acted as his agent, before that firm merged with Russell and Company. "At one period," wrote John Murray Forbes² "Houqua, who never did anything by halves, at

1 Today Bohea and Congou sell for about \$3.00 a pound.

2 J. M. Forbes was the son of Ralph Bennet Forbes and Margaret Perkins, sister of the great East India merchants, James and Thomas Handysid Perkins.

once took me as Mr. Cushing's successor and that of my brother Tom³, who had been his intimate friend, and gave me his entire confidence. All his foreign letters, some of which were of almost national importance, were handed me to read and to prepare such answers as he indicated, which, after being read to him, were usually signed and sent without alteration. It was his habit when he could not sell his tea or silks at satisfactory prices, to ship them to Europe or America; and before I was eighteen years old it was not uncommon for him to order me to charter one or more entire ships at a time and load them. The invoices were made out in my name and instructions as to sales and returns given just as if the shipment were my own property, and at one time I had as much as half a million dollars afloat, bringing me into very close correspondence with Baring Brothers & Co., and other great houses."⁴

Houqua's extensive estate across the river, he once said, cost \$200,000.00 each year to keep up. There were many houses and open pavilions grouped close together, according to Chinese custom. These were surrounded with fine gardens and potted plants, paved walks along which ran water courses with pleasure boats. The potted plants in ornamental jars were set about and changed from month to month, and there were also many shrubs and trees scattered through the grounds.

The Nantucket Athenæum Library owns four paintings of Houqua's gardens. Originally there were six, but two have crumbled with age. Those left are done realistically true to colour.

Here at Honan he gave banquets from time to time for his business friends. Sometimes these consisted of thirty-two courses. When Abiel Abbot Low made a return visit to China in 1869, as Houqua was no longer living he was entertained by one of the sons.⁵ The numbers of servants in these private palaces was great, comprising in addition

3 Thomas Forbes was drowned at sea returning to Canton from Macao.

4 From the article on *Augustine Heard and the China Trade* by Howard Corning in the E. I. H. C. for July, 1944.

5 Mrs. Benjamin R. C. Low has inherited a portrait of this son done in tempora on paper, depicting a large, heavy man very different in appearance from his delicate looking father.

to all the house servants, doorkeepers, messengers, palanquin bearers and choice cooks. When the guests were ready to leave, Houqua himself would escort them to the outer gate and place them in charge of his coolies who would be waiting there with large lanterns bearing his name, to row them back to the factories.

Although he was a shrewd business man there are many instances of Houqua's generosity. Once a certain Captain C—— arrived at Whampoa⁶ with a cargo largely of quicksilver which he was to sell and use the proceeds to buy teas and silks for the return voyage. But while on the way the price of that article had greatly fallen and he could not buy enough to fill his ship. But soon the price rose and he decided to sell it and buy what he could. But still he could not fill the hold. Finally Houqua, understanding the situation, came to him and said: "Olo fien, you shall have a full cargo to return with; I will furnish it; you can pay my (me) next voyage—you no trub, (give yourself no anxiety)." When the vessel was half full Houqua came to him again, told him that a sudden demand had arisen for 'quick' on the part of the Northern merchants, that the price had advanced materially and that he should be credited with the price of the day and that he himself had cancelled the first purchase on his books.

Another instance relates to an American gentleman of former wealth who had long resided at Canton, but who had met with serious losses. He stayed on and on, aided materially by Houqua, hoping all the time to pay off his debts, while longing to go home. After two or three years when he was not much better off, he still owed Houqua about \$72,000.00 Houqua took a promissary note and locked it up in his strong box. Hunter, who was often behind the scenes, because he wrote and spoke Chinese, found that these notes bore simply the endorsement of sum and date with the names of the drawers. Time went on and Mr. W. again expressed his desire to return and hoped that some good fortune would make it possible for him to cancel the notes. One day, Houqua, knowing this, asked him if only the bond kept him. Mr. W. replied that he had

6 The anchorage for Canton.



HOUQUA

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York and Mrs. Susan Delano McKelvey
Portrait owned by the late Frederick Delano of Boston

no other debts. Houqua thereupon ordered his purser to bring out the promissary note, which he took in his hand and at once tore up, saying: "You and I are No. 1 *olo fien* (old friends): you belong honest man, only got no chance." Then throwing the scraps into the waste-paper basket, he continued: "Just now have settée counter, alla finishee; you go, you please." (Our accounts are all settled, you may go when you please.)

Now the young Americans were not allowed by Chinese law or custom to race boats on the river, but this was one of their favorite forms of exercise in which they nevertheless indulged from time to time. As the Hong merchants were their guardians and could not let harm come to them, Houqua and others wrote them the following request:

"Ham Tak, venerable old gentleman,—We beg respectfully to inform you that we have heard of the intention of our respected elder brother and other chin-te-le-mun to race boats on the river. We know not if this is true, but heretofore it has not been custom. Should the Authorities hear of this, we, your younger brothers, would be reprovéd, not mildly, for permitting you to act so indiscreetly. On the river boats are mysteriously abundant; everywhere they congregate in vast numbers; like a stream they advance and retire unceasingly. Thus the chances of contact are many, so are accidents, even to the breaking of one another's boats, to the injury of men's bodies, while more serious consequences might ensue.

We therefore beseech our worthy senior to make know to the other chin-te-le-mun that they would do well to refrain from contesting the speed of their boats on the river so that after troubles may not accumulate. Then all will be well. Daily may your prosperity increase."

Signed: Houqua, Mouqua, Pwankeiqua, and others.⁷

Mention of age was of course a mark of respect.

In 1835, Houqua contributed liberally to Dr. Parker's Mission when the doctor opened a hospital at Canton "for the gratuitous relief of such diseases among the Chinese as his time and means would allow, devoting his attention chiefly to opthalmic cases and surgical operations. This

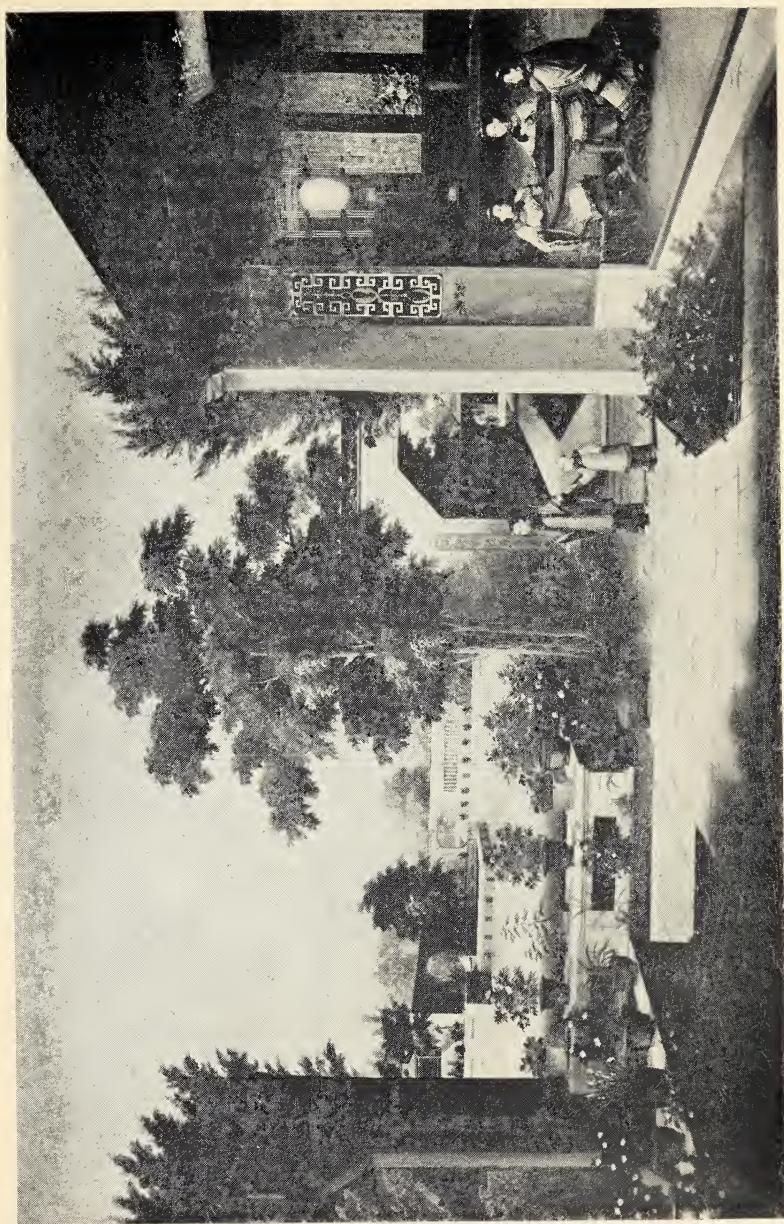
7 From W. C. Hunter's *The Fan Kwae at Canton*.

branch of Christian benevolence was already not unknown in China. Morrison had, in 1820, in connection with Dr. Livingstone, commenced dispensing medicine at Macao, while Dr. T. R. Colledge,⁸ also of the British East India Company, opened a dispensary at his own expense in 1827 and finding the number of patients rapidly increasing he rented two small houses at Macao, where in four years more than four thousand patients were cured, or relieved. The benevolent design was encouraged by the foreign community and about \$6,500.00 were contributed, so that it was, after the first year, no other expenses to the founder than giving his time and strength. It was unavoidably closed in 1832." (From the Middle Kingdom by S. Wells Williams, 1882 ed.)

Houqua readily fell in with Dr. Parker's scheme and let his building for the purpose and after the first year gave it rent free till its destruction in 1856. It was opened for admission to patients November 4th, 1835 and almost a hundred patients came to it daily.

During the Anglo-Chinese or Opium War, Houqua rose to perhaps his greatest height of magnanimity. It was on March 23rd, 1839 that a general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was suddenly called at the request of the Hong merchants, for the decree of Commissioner Lin had gone forth that all the thousands of chests of opium must be surrendered at once, and if not, two of them would be strangled before night. Houqua and Mouqua were there with loose chains on their necks. All the others had been deprived of their official cap buttons and Gouqua and two others had been imprisoned. At the moment all hung on whether Mr. Dent, one of the two great British importers of the drug, would submit to questioning. He had at first volunteered to do so, but then the Company feared treachery and refused to let him. They had made a condition that Dent should have a passport under Lin's own seal and his return within twenty-four hours be guaranteed. This was not granted. The meeting lasted from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. 1036 chests were delivered up after the meeting

8 Dr. Colledge married in 1833, Harriet Low's Salem school friend Caroline Shillaber of South Danvers.



HOUQUA GARDEN ON THE ISLAND OF HO-NAM

Owned by Nantucket Athenaeum

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the Nantucket Athenaeum

had adjourned to Dent's house. It continued till 2 A.M. Fortunately, Dent was not taken by force nor were the Mandarins put to death. Abbot Low, in his letter of April 18th to his sister Harriet Hillard in London, (See E. I. H. C., for July, 1949, p. 242.) writes: "On the former occasion the Hong merchants declared most solemnly that the lives of two of their number were in peril and on the last I saw old Houqua—so long and so good a friend of our house, deprived of his honour without cause—degraded with a chain upon his neck, and then exposed to a most ignominious death. I fully believed then that his fears were but too well grounded and could not satisfy myself that Dent's were so reasonable. I have now little doubt, however, that he would have been retained till foreigners had been made to disgorge their drug, had the latter (Dent) gone to the city." . . . "After 14 days one fourth of the twenty thousand chests finally delivered up had passed into the hands of the Commissioner, or Gum-Chi." . . . "The British," he writes further on, "have been robbed of \$6, 000,000.00 . . . With so much standing and walking old Houqua's feet were much swollen but were relieved when the correspondence began between Lin and Captain Elliot," which resulted in Elliot's yielding up the balance of the opium.

As a member of the Co-Hong, Houqua paid high for the privilege. Hunter says that it was sometimes as much as £50,000 Sterling,⁹ and if one of them went bankrupt he was exiled to the "cold country", the Northwest frontier. The insignia of rank was a coloured button often of jade, attached to the top of a round cap. Knowing how rich some of the merchants were, and as they acted as individuals in business and sometimes cleared two million dollars a year, the Hoppo and Provincial Governor constantly "squeezed" from them considerable tribute.

When the Opium War came to a crisis and English ships were offshore and the city of Canton was surrounded by 2000 British soldiers, it was finally ransomed by the Chinese and largely by the Hong merchants themselves, Houqua who had already lost warehouses by the fire to the value

9 The Fan Kwae at Canton, p. 26.

of almost \$800,000.00, but who as was stated before, very generous by nature, and who had a fine philosophy of life, gave the most. Like many of his people he believed in the invisible agency influencing a man's career known as Fung Shuy (wind and water), so he paid cheerfully his part and more. For himself, in recognition of notable incidents in his life, he apportioned his part thus: for his own prosperity \$800,000.00; for his younger son, born when he himself had completed a full cycle of sixty years, \$100,000.00; for his eldest son for his unswerving filial piety, \$200,000.00. On the other hand, Pwankeiqua, who often alternated as head of the Co-Hong, gave \$260,000.00.

S. Wells Williams, writing a few years after Houqua's death, pays him a high tribute: "Howqua (sic) the leading member of the body during thirty years, died about this time, aged seventy-five: he was altogether the most remarkable native known to foreigners, and while he filled the difficult station of senior merchant, exhibited great shrewdness and ability in managing the delicate and, difficult affairs constantly thrown upon him."¹⁰

On September 4th, 1843, Houqua, the last of the Co-Hong died, leaving hundreds of friends in America behind him."¹¹

Many of these had received portraits of him when they sailed for home. Belonging today to their descendants or in museums, I have been able to trace the following:

PORTRAITS OF HOUQUA

In the portrait by George Chinnery belonging now to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, Houqua is wearing his ceremonial robe of blue with an embroidered square plastron of blue and gold with phoenix design. The rainbow design in gold thread is on the skirt and he wears a long double string of jade beads. The delicate fingers of

10 Williams was Professor of Chinese at Yale.

11 Abiel Abbot Low named his first clipper ship, built in 1844, *The Houqua*. Her successive masters were the famous Palmer brothers, Captain Alex. B. and Nathaniel B.; also Charles Porter Low and Captain McKenzie. She foundered in a typhoon in the China Sea in 1865. Among the first clippers she was not an extreme type, according to A. H. Clarke.



HOUQUA

Head of the Co-Hong at Canton The "Horse Godfather"

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, of Salem

both hands show. He sits on a kind of throne with his feet in boots resting on a stool. His cap with official button rests on a table near his left elbow. The background is his own home. Lanterns hang in the room and a sunset is seen through the windows.

The one owned by Mrs. Marian Low Raymond of New York City is as follows. The gown is mauve and the red cap with its button is on a table nearby. The plastron is blue and gold. Houqua wears a long string of coral and tan beads with round jade pendants and drops. There is colour in the face which is pearshaped and delicate. It is somewhat similar to the illustration in Hunter's *Bits of Old China*.

In the Ipswich Library portrait, which I identified a few years ago, and which was bequeathed, I believe, by the late Augustine Heard, the robe is black, the cuffs ermine, the collar of turquoise blue and the embroidered plastron is done in blue and gold thread.

In the Frederick Delano Portrait, now owned by Mr. Delano's daughter Mrs. Susan Delano McKelvey of New York, (but in the Metropolitan Museum at the present time) the face, almost full, is solemn in expression, and Houqua wears a thin moustache and goatee. The gown is blue the plastron blue and gold with phoenix. The thumb and finger of the right hand are exposed under the white cuff. The cap and jade button is on a table at the left. The long string of jade beads has six pendants. There are three buttons on the front of the gown.

The portrait which was given a few years ago by Miss May Spooner of Boston to the Fine Arts Museum is rather like the Delano portrait. The forehead is high and dome-shaped, the expression still more solemn. The gown is dark as is the single string of beads with pendant strings of four or five beads each along the sides. The thumb and forefinger just show beneath the right cuff which is white. The plastron has the phoenix design. No official cap is in the picture and the outline of the gown is marred by age and is indistinct.

The Peabody Museum of Salem has three, two on loan from Mr. and Mrs. A. Clark Walling of Boston. The

first is known as the "Horse Godfather" the nickname given by the young Americans in China because of the cuffs shaped like horses' hoofs. It is done on paper. The first of those on loan is a mezzo-tint by John Sartain from a painting by Chinnery. I have no description of the second of these.

There is also a portrait in the Tate Gallery of London, Mr. Charles Copeland, Curator of Maritime History in the Peabody Museum of Salem, writes me, a reproduction of which was used in the book *Foreign Mud* by Maurice Collis, published in London 1946. The original is by a Chinese artist.

Miss Mary Bowditch Forbes of Milton owns a portrait in which the robe is dark mauve with blue collar. The phoenix plastron is red and blue, the beads coral. The coral cap and button are on a side table. The face is pear shaped and delicate and the fingers of the left hand show. Mr. Allan Forbes has a copy of the same portrait.

I feel sure that there are many others in this country in the families whose forebears were in the China trade and should be glad to know of any that come to light.

QUAINT STORIES OF OUR ROCKPORT ANCESTORS AND REMINISCENCES

WRITTEN BY FRANCIS TARR, Born in 1822.

Contributed by his son, Frank W. Tarr

In 1895, one year before he died, my father, Francis Tarr, very carefully wrote out the reminiscences of his life, beginning here, in Sandy Bay one hundred and twelve years ago. As it so well illustrates the period covered, and the manner in which our Rockport ancestors then lived, I feel that it may be of interest to all who have studied local history.

My father, Francis Tarr, was born in Sandy Bay, now Rockport, in the year 1822, the son of Francis Tarr, born in 1794, a pensioner of the War of 1812, the First Lieutenant of the Mechanics Rifle-men, a military company organized about 1840. He was a Deputy Collector of Customs, served in 1837 as one of the auditors of the Town of Gloucester, and one of the Parish Committee in Sandy Bay.

He was the grandson of Lieutenant Benjamin Tarr, who drilled the Sandy Bay Soldiers, before they marched to the Battle of Bunker Hill, and whose father, son of the first settler, was referred to in the *History of Rockport* as the Goliath of his day, famous for marvelous feats of strength. Lieutenant Benjamin was the son of Benjamin Tarr, born in 1700, who, with John and Ebenezer Pool, built the first wharf in 1743 and served as the first Constable and Collector of Taxes in 1754. His father was Richard Tarr, born in England in 1660, and the first permanent settler of Rockport in 1690.

My father was greatly interested in local history, which was rather unusual in his time, and I am indebted to him for much information which I could not have accumulated otherwise.

Had I, as a boy, taken more interest in the information

NOTE: This paper was written, and read by Frank W. Tarr at a meeting of the Executive Board of the Sandy Bay Historical Society, February 6, 1935.

which he was always ready to impart, we would have many more facts of local history, which are now lost to us. For instance, one day as we were walking past the site of the cabin of the first settler, Richard Tarr, he told me that he could show me the remains of the foundation, as his grandfather lived next door. I no doubt showed my indifference, so he did not insist, and now no one knows exactly where the house was located on the lot.

I have presented a firkin more than two hundred years old to our local museum, which he took great care to inscribe and pass on to me. I believe it is the oldest Tarr relic in Town. The inscription written by my father is as follows: "This firkin was made with a jack knife by Lieut. Benjamin Tarr on a fishing trip to the Grand Banks in the year 1747. He was born in 1726 and was the grandson of Richard Tarr the first settler of Rockport, and was the great, great grandfather of Frank W. Tarr, the present owner in 1894". When our museum first opened, I gave this firkin with many other heirlooms to the society, as I believe this is the surest way to pass them along to future generations.

My grandfather, Francis Tarr, born in 1794, was the son of Francis born in 1773, who lived in a house on the site of the Oker House, 109 Main Street. His old salt box house was moved away about sixty-five years ago when the new or present house was built, and was burned a few years later.

My grandfather's mother was the daughter of Deacon Jabez Rowe, who on account of infirmities, was not able to take a military part in the War of the Revolution, so during the war, ground corn for the soldiers and villagers in his mill on the brook, in the rear of Mrs. Alden P. Bray's land (now Miss Porters) on Main Street.

He also took the place of Rev. Ebenezer Cleveland, the pastor of the church, who was away as Chaplain in the army, and officiated at church services and funerals. His homestead was the house now owned and occupied by Mr. George W. Solley, 111a Main Street (in 1936). Later purchased by Frank W. Tarr.

My grandfather, a little more than one hundred years

ago, conducted a fishing business and grocery store on Bearskin Neck, then the business centre of the town. At that time a New England Grocery store, that did not have a hogshead of West India rum on tap, beside the hogshead of Porto Rico molasses, was most unusual and unpopular. My grandfather's store was no exception to the general rule, and the hogshead of rum was there on tap, with a gill dipper hanging on a nail driven in the head of the hogshead. A customer would frequently take down the gill dipper, fill it with rum, and after drinking it would pass the clerk a penny, which was considered ample pay for the same.

In looking over the accounts in his ledger, which I have placed in the museum, I find the rum was sold at forty-four cents per gallon and eleven cents per quart. Also that some of the most distinguished citizens of the town, would purchase a gallon on Monday and on Wednesday another gallon would be charged to their account.

However, the fact that this generous consumption of liquor was becoming a terrible nuisance is shown by the famous liquor raid, in which the Hatchet Gang formed by the women of the town, took matters in their own hands some years later. My grandfather's shop escaped this most embarrassing procedure as he had retired from business by that time, having either made his fortune or judging from the low price of forty-four cents per gallon, probably lost it.

My father, with his brother George W. Tarr, ran a grocery business long known as F. Tarr and Brother, in the store situated on the southerly corner of T wharf and Mount Pleasant Street, where many years of honest dealing and the extending of most generous credit, gained them an enviable reputation.

As I continued the business I inherited many of the old customers, one of which was a very important appearing, out-spoken old lady. She came in the store one day to purchase a cut of meat and was inclined to be unreasonable in the way she wished me to cut it. I objected, and she looked up at me with a very accusing expression and said, "Your father was a good man", leaving me to infer what I wished, regarding her opinion of myself.

I must have eventually gained her confidence, as later she used to talk to me a great deal. She, as well as most of her generation in town, was particularly fond of pork and cabbage, the old term for a boiled dinner. She always called for pink pork, and said fat pork without a shade of pink in it was not as good.

She told me that an old Mr. Smith, a farmer at South End, when asked if he had some nice cabbage to sell, always inquired if the customer had raised a hog that year, and if not would not recommend his cabbage.

This old lady's niece came into the store one day and the popular subject of good pork was brought up, and with her modern ideas, she surprised her listeners by saying she did not consider pork wholesome and would not eat it as it was the cause of cancer. My uncle was greatly disturbed at this new idea and told her that her grandfather ate half a hog every year of his life, and lived to be over ninety years old, so he thought a moderate amount of pork would not affect her health.

Another very popular dish was a dry fish dinner, dry fish, and potatoes with their jackets on, served out loud for dinner and hashed up for supper. Out loud was their common expression applied to a dry fish dinner, meaning the fish was served whole instead of chopped or hashed. As you will learn from his notes, my father's school advantages with the others of that period were greatly limited. However, the old-fashioned education which he eventually acquired under such difficult circumstances, was quite remarkable. When I was in High School, I remember he could figure out a problem quicker by his famous old "rule of three", than I could by all the rules in my arithmetic.

One of the popular entertainments of the winter was a public spelling match in the town hall, in which most of the townspeople would participate. As fast as one failed to spell a word correctly, they were obliged to drop out, eventually leaving a survivor, who had spelled them all down. One of our eldest citizens who is well along toward ninety years of age, told me the other day, he remembered on one occasion that my father spelled the others all down.

I have no doubt taken too much time for this introduc-

tion of my father's "Reminiscences", but I feel that stories of the "old times" should be recorded and preserved. It is very hard to get the older ones to write papers on the subject, and I believe my father was very far-sighted to give me his records which were written by him as follows:

REMINISCENCES WRITTEN BY FRANCIS TARR IN 1895.

I, Francis Tarr, was born November 18, 1822, and descended from Richard Tarr, the first permanent settler of Rockport as follows: Richard born in the West of England about 1660, Benjamin in Sandy Bay born in 1700, Benjamin born in 1726, Francis born in 1774, Francis born in 1794.

My Grandmother Tarr was Dolly Rowe daughter of Deacon Jabez Rowe, the son of John Rowe of Sandy Bay, son of Stephen Rowe of Gloucester, the son of John Rowe, a son of John Rowe who settled in Gloucester about 1624. My mother was a daughter of Andrew Lane, a descendant of John or Job Lane, one of the earliest settlers of Lane's Cove, now Lanesville.

I was born in the house built by my Grandfather Andrew Lane in 1805, situated on Mt. Pleasant Street, on the north side of "The Mt. Pleasant House". At the age of ten years we moved to the house on South Street east of the Francis Howard House, #7 South St., and in July 1834 moved into the house owned by my mother at the time of her death, situated on the corner of Mt. Pleasant and Prospect Streets. (This was owned and occupied in 1935 by Judge McAnarney, who has since sold it to Mr. Dow.) My mother died at the age of ninety-one years and three months, and my father at the age of eighty-seven years.

I attended school most of the time until I was eleven years old, and with the exception of three months each winter until I was 18 years of age, had little opportunity thereafter. At twelve, thirteen and fourteen I worked on the farm or in the Flake Yard drying fish for my Grandfather Lane, who ran a fishing business in addition to his very extensive farm at South End.

In 1836 and 1837, when the farm work was a little slack, we got stone from the pasture and hauled them on

to the Old Breakwater at the end of Bearskin Neck, with oxen. The Breakwater was built by the Government in 1836 and 1837.

At the age of 16 years, I began my seafaring life and shipped on board the Schooner *Success*, Capt. Wm. Tarr master and owner, in the coasting trade, carrying dry fish to Boston from Sandy Bay and ports in Maine. The next year I went freighting with Captain Samuel York in the Schooner *Grape*, on trips to New York. As it was a hard year for freighting our Sandy Bay Schooners, thirteen in number, lost from six hundred to three thousand dollars each that year.

In 1840, went one trip to New York with Capt. Theodore Pool in Sch. *Eli*, another trip to New York with Capt. James Pool in the Sch. *Legislature*, and finished the year with Capt. Asa Tarr in the Sch. *Banner*. In April, 1841, as business was so dull and no Rockport freighters were getting underweigh for New York freighting, Nehemire D. Cunningham and I, secured an opportunity to go with Capt. Elias Elwell in the Brig *Mattamora*, on a voyage from Boston to the river Rio de la Plata in South America. We started for Boston April 3rd and boarded at the Sailors' Home on Fort Hill, Boston, until the brig was ready to sail.

1841, April 6th, the news of the death of President William Henry Harrison was received in Boston about eight o'clock in the morning. The President died April 4th. It took two days to get the news from Washington to Boston by express, with the greatest speed possible at the time.

We sailed on April 6th for Montevideo and arrived there, after a passage of seventy days, being the first vessel to arrive since the President's death.

This made it possible to get the news of the death of President Harrison to Montevideo in seventy-seven days, more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ months.

Our brig was sold and the officers and several of the crew came home in the Bark *Georgian*, arriving in Boston September 28th.

A few days later, on October first, second and third,

1841, the terrible gale raged that washed down the Pigeon Cove breakwater and destroyed all the vessels in the harbor.

I finished the year by going a short trip to New York with Captain Asa Tarr and returned home December 28th.

February, 1842, I shipped with Capt. James Pool to go on a shad voyage to Monomony Point, on the south side of Cape Cod. It took until June to get our nets ready and our two schooners, the *Medora* and *Citizen*. Our ten men got only nine barrels of shad and we made only \$3.40 each, for five months work.

In July shipped with Capt. Samuel York on a mackerel trip to George's Bank. The cook was William W. Marshall, and from July 4th to November, made only twenty-seven dollars.

During the winter of 1842 and 1843 I worked with Mr. John O. Drown, learning the shoemaker's trade. There were eighteen men working at the trade. (The building is on Mt. Pleasant Street between the "Blacksmith Shop Restaurant" and the Todd Coal Office.)

On the fourteenth of February, I went to work on the schooner *Essex*, Capt. Isaac Babson, a Pink Stern vessel called a Jigger. For two weeks the north west wind blew the tide out, so he did not float and we sailed for George's Bank at twelve thirty o'clock March the twentieth, anchored the next day about two o'clock, and at sundown that night had one hundred and twenty halibut. I caught twenty-two halibut my first days fishing, which was considered a good share.

Our crew of six men caught one hundred more halibut and at sundown we were running for Boston with two hundred and twenty halibut, with the wind east southeast, winged out, and threatening snow. Arriving in Boston on the twenty-fifth, we sold our halibut for one and a quarter cents per pound. On the next trip we had about the same number of fish, but sold them for only three-quarters of a cent per pound. The next trip we caught no fish.

We then fitted out for cod fishing, going two trips to "Cashies" and the north western part of "George's" bringing in one hundred quintals of salt cod on the first trip, and one hundred and twenty on the second. On the next

trip we fitted for mackereling and coming home, beat across the bay from Provincetown November 17th, under double reefed sails, with the wind northeast, arriving home and on settling up made one hundred and twenty dollars for the entire year. This was twenty dollars better than the average fisherman for the year 1843, as most of them made only one hundred dollars.

February 1844, I shipped for a voyage to Buenos Aires in South America, in the ship *Corilanus*, arriving in Boston from Rockport February 8th, the day they cut a channel through the ice, to get the Cunard Steamer out of the Boston harbor. All of the harbors on the coast including Boston harbor, had been frozen up three weeks, no vessels going in or out during that period. A Rockport vessel, Schooner *Hosea Blue*, Capt. Henry Smith, landed a trip of halibut down to George's Island and had them hauled up to the wharf on the ice in teams. This was a most unusually hard winter.

We arrived in Montevideo and in three days sailed for Buenos Aires. When I was there before in 1841 choice fresh beef was selling in the market at one dollar per quarter, now in 1844 it brought eighteen cents per pound, in consequence of the blockade by the Buenos Airean fleet. After discharging our cargo, we loaded with hides, horns, tallow and bales of wool for Boston, arriving in fifty-five days, about the middle of August.

After going one trip mackereling with Capt. John J. Giles in the schooner *Sea Serpent*, went to Bangor, Maine, and loaded with potatoes for New York. This was the first year of the dry rot and the potatoes came out badly affected. We took a freight of corn for North Weymouth, arriving home Christmas day.

In 1845 went with Capt. Stephen Tarr in the Schooner *Commodore*, carrying sand from Ipswich to Boston at \$3.50 per trip, until the middle of March, when I shipped with Capt. John J. Giles on a freighting trip from Bangor to New York City, and from there to Philadelphia, where we loaded sixty-seven tons of stove coal for Rockport. This was the first stove coal brought to Rockport and was used in the stores and the isinglass factory, as coal was not used

in cookstoves here until later. As we hoisted out the coal by hand, we were three days discharging the cargo, Stephen Robards delivering it with his horse cart. All that was unsold was placed in a pen on T wharf and several tons were left the spring after.

July 4th, we sailed for the Bay of St. Lawrence about ten o'clock in the evening and arrived home October 20th, with two hundred and seven barrels of mackerel, number ones bringing fourteen dollars per barrel.

We then went on a trip to Philadelphia freighting a load of coal to Newburyport at three dollars per ton. Arrived in Rockport the day before Thanksgiving.

In 1846 I went two trips sanding from Plum Island to Boston, with Capt. Stephen Tarr at three dollars and fifty cents per trip. Then with Capt. N. F. S. York in the sloop *Glide*, stone freighting from Rockport to Boston at fourteen dollars per month.

I then purchased one eighth of Schooner *Tam O. Shanter* from Joseph O. Proctor, the father of the present Joseph O. Proctor, who was one of the best of men. With Captain Theodore Pool we went freighting to New York and Philadelphia in the spring, and in the summer months to the Bay of St. Lawrence, and in the fall freighting again.

This was the year of starvation in Ireland, caused by the potato rot. Conditions were terrible. The price of corn and flour kept rising all winter until it doubled, and the semi-monthly line of steamers from New York to Liverpool gave us the news only once in two weeks.

During the year 1848 business was very dull and I made little money. We brought eight hundred barrels of mackerel out of the Bay of St. Lawrence and part of them sold as low as \$1.83 per barrel.

So the next year I sold my share in the schooner and secured a position as yard hand in the Rockport Steam Cotton Mill, which had recently been completed, my wages being seventy-five cents per day, and was later advanced to watchman at one dollar per day. I held this position until April 1850, when I went into the weave room at five dollars per week for the first year and in 1852, was raised to seven dollars per week.

In March 1853 after President Pierce was inaugurated, the Democratic Town Committee came to me and asked if I would accept the position of Postmaster. After due consideration I told them if they could obtain it for me I would take it, and received my appointment July 4th, 1853 and took charge August 1st, serving as Postmaster until October 1, 1860, seven years and two months. (The office was located in the basement of the house on Main Street owned in 1935 by Mr. James W. Bradley.) I lost the office by advocating the election of Judge Stephen A. Douglas to the Presidency. In 1860 there was a split in the party, the southern Democrats went for Breckenridge of Kentucky, and the northern wing for Judge Douglas, thereby giving the election to Abraham Lincoln.

Before I left the Post Office I engaged the store on the corner of T wharf and on my thirty-eighth birthday, November 18, 1860 placed the first stock of groceries in it. My brother George W. Tarr accepted equal partnership with me and now, in 1894 we have been in the business together thirty-four years.

During the last forty years my public service in the town of Rockport has been as follows:

I held the office of Postmaster from August 1, 1853 to October 1, 1860.

Was Selectman, Overseer of the Poor and Assessor in 1869 and 1870.

In 1869 was one of the Building Committee appointed to build the Town Hall.

Member of the Public Library Committee from the commencement in 1871 until 1892.

Served as Committee, Auditor and Trustee of the First Congregational Church from 1873 to 1883.

A member of the Sandy Bay Breakwater Committee and one of the Committee which arranged the celebration of the landing of the Commercial Cable in 1884.

Was Trustee of the Rockport Savings Bank from 1875, the time of the Financial Panic, to the appointment of the Receivers.

Was one of the Petitioners for a Charter for the Granite Savings Bank and have served as Trustee and member of the Investment Committee from the starting of the bank until the present year, 1895.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMB-STONES IN THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT NORTH ANDOVER MASSACHUSETTS

(Concluded from Vol. LXXXIX, p. 71)

- 127 Sacred to the Memory of Miss Nancy Frye dau of
Frederich Frye Esq. who departed this Life in hopes
of a better. July 2 1819 AEt 13.
- 128 Frye. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Margaret
Frye wife to Fred^k Frye Esq^r and daughter of the
late Capt Daniel Mackey who departed this life in
hopes of a better March 2 1817 AEt 51.
Lord I commit my soul to thee
Accept the sacred trust.
- 129 Mackey. In Memory of Capt. Daniel Mackey Obt
Aug 2 1796 AE 77.
The fear of the Lord is the first step to be accepted
of him and wisdom obtaineth his love: the knowledge
of the commandments of the Lord is the doctrine of
life and they that do things that please him shall
receive the fruit of the tree of Immortality.
Ecclesiasticus.
- 130 Coolidge. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah
Coolidge who departed this Life Feb^y 18th 1782 aged
52 years.
- 131 Memento Mori. In Memory of Mr. Nehemiah Ab-
bot who departed this Life January 1st 1784 in the
28th year of his Age.
The sweet remembrance of y^e just
Shall flourish while they sleep in dust.
- 132 Mackey. Frye. Here is deposited the mortal part
of Nancy Mackey Frye daughter of Frederich &
Margaret Frye her soul after having sojourned here
below only 2 years 4 months & 7 days ascended on
the 12th of July 1796.
Suffer little children to come unto me
And forbid them not, for of such is the
Kingdom of God. Jesus
- 133 Osgood. Memento Mori. In Memory of Mr. Josiah
Osgood, who departed this Life Oct^r the 26th 1780
in the 74 year of his Age.

- 134 Osgood. In Memory of Mrs. Hannah Osgood the wife of Mr. Josiah Osgood who died July 21st 1790 in the 71st year of her age.
- 135 Poor. Here lies buried the body of Mr. Samuel Poor Jun^r who died February 10 1746 in the 22 year of his Age.
- 136 Foster. Isaac the son of Mr. Joshua and Mary Foster who died the 7th of Sept^r 1738 aged 3 years.
- 137 Adams. In Memory of 2 Daug^r of Deacon John & Mrs. Hannah Adams.
Hannah died Sarah died
August 30, 1763 Sept. 2, 1763
aged 2 years & aged 1 year &
1 month. 1 month.
- 138 Adams. Sacred to the Memory of Isaac Adams, son of Mr. John Adams Jun^r and Mrs. Dorcas Adams who died Oct^r 27 1801 Aetat 3.
From Death's arrest no age is free
Prepare for death & follow me.
- 139 Adams. Emmeline O. Adams Daug^r of Mr. John & Mrs. Dorcas Adams who died March 21 1810 AEt 2 years 1 mo & 21 da.
- 140 Admes. Here lyes buried the body of Sarah y^e Daught^r of Mr. Israel and Tabatha Admes desesed August y^e 30th of 1746 aged 3 years.
- 141 Swan. Timothy Swan died February y^e 2 1692 and in y^e 30 year of his Age.
- 142 Ingalls. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Ingalls who died Nov. 29 1813 AEt. 81.
- 143 Ingalls. Erected to Memory of Cap^t Henry Ingalls who died March 28 1803 aged 84 years.
- 144 Ingals. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Hannah Ingals widow of Mr. Henry Ingals who departed this Life May 31st 1783 in y^e 94th year of Her Age.
- 145 Ingals. Here lyes the Body of Mr. Henry Ingals who departed this life August 12 1749.
- 146 Ingals. Here lyes buried the Body of Mrs. Sarah the wife of Mr. Henry Ingals & daughter of y^e Rev^d Mr. Dan'l Putnam who departed this life April y^e 8 1756 in the 32^d year of her age.

- 147 Ingalls. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Putnam Ingalls who died May 25 1814 AEt 50.
- 148 Putnam. In Memory of Mr. Moses Putnam son of Moses Putnam A. M. & Mrs. Rebekah his wife who died Sept 20 1807 aged 30 years.
- Companions see, as you pass by
As you are now, so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare to follow after me.
- 149 Carlton. Mr. John Carlton died May 23 1828 AEt 73. The last of the family of Isaac & Abigail Carlton. Like his parents brothers & sisters, he was benevolent, just & peaceable with all.
- Let candor draw a vail over his frailties
We mourn but not for him releast from pain
Our loss we trust is his eternal gain
With him we'll strive to gain the Savior's love
And hope to join him with the blest above.
- 150 Carlton. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Isaac Carlton who died May 27, 1816 AEt 63.
- Friends nor Physician could not save
My mortal body from the grave
Nor can the grave confine me here
When Christ shall call me to appear.
- 151 Carlton. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Isaac Carlton who died May 7 1771 AEt 56 and of Mrs. Abigail Carlton, who died June 20 1810 AEt 90 wife of Mr. Isaac Carlton.
- 152 Robenson. Sacred to the Memory of John Robenson who died March 24 1811 at 15 years also of Isaac his brother who was drowned in the Mohawk river November 14 1810 aged 24 children of Mr. John & Mrs. Sarah Robenson.
- 153 Aslebe. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. John Aslebe who dec'd June y^e 19th 1728 in y^e 73^d year of his age.
- 154 Aslebe. Here lies buried y^e Body of Mrs. May Aslebe Relict of Lieut John Aslebe, who died Feb. 13th Anno Domⁱ 1739 in y^e 84th year of her age.

- 155 Parker. In Memory of Capt Peter Parker who died January 9th 1795 Aged 80 years & 6 months.
- 156 Parker. In Memory of Mr. Isaac Parker who died Oct 9 1814 AEt 63.
- 157 Parker. Mrs. May Relict of Mr. Isaac Parker died Nov^r 19 1834 AEt. 73.
 Lord I commit my soul to thee
 Accept the sacred trust
 Receive this nobler part of me
 And watch my sleeping Dust.
- 158 Farnum. Erected in Memory of Capt John Farnum who died Oct^r 22 1786 aged 76 years.
- 159 Farnum. Here lyes Buried the body of Deacon John Farnum who departed this life Octo^r 22 1762 in y^e 70th year of His Age.
- 160 Farnum. In Memory of Mrs. Joanna Farnum Consort of Deaⁿ John Farnum who departed this life Jan^y y^e 4th 1785 in the 98 year of her age.
- 161 Farnum. In Memory of Mrs. Sarah Farnum the wife of Mr. Peter Farnum who died Nov. 22 1788 in the 26 year of her age.
 Behold & see, as you Pass by:
 As you are now, so once was I
 As I am now, so you must be
 Prepare for Death & follow me.
- 162 Stevens. In Memory of Dorothy Stevens Dau^r of Mr. Benjamin Stevens Jun^r & Mrs. Hannah his wife who died Jany 26 1764 aged 6 years and 4 months.
- 163 Stevens. In Memory of James Stevens, son of Mr. Benjamin Stevens Jun^r & Mrs. Hannah his wife who died August 27 1763 aged 1 year & 9 months.
- 164 Stevens. In Memory of Charles Stevens who was drowned in Dracut July 1, 1813 aged 13 y^e Son of Mr. James & Mrs. Elizabeth Stevens.
- 165 Stevens. Jonathan Stevens y^e son of Lieut James Stevens who dyed August y^e 24 1735 & in y^e 12th year of his Age.
- 166 Stevens. Sarah, Daughter of Lieut James & Dorothy Stevens who died 1727 in the 2 year of her age.
- 167 Stevens. Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Mrs. Doro-

- thy Stevens wife to Capt James Stevens who departed this life May y^e 7th 1751 aged 56 years.
- 168 Stevens. Here lies Buried the Body of Capt James Stevens who departed this life May 25th 1769 in ye 84 year of his Age.
Blessed are y^e Dead which die in the Lord.
- 169 Stevens. In Memory of Mr. Benjamin Stevens who died January 10th 1793 in the 61st year of his age.
- 170 Austin. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. John Austin who departed this Life March y^e 15 in y^e 68th year of His Age.
- 171 Stevens. In Memory of Mr. Jeremy Stevens son of Mr. Jonathan & Mrs. Susannah who died Dec^r 29 1799 in the 19 year of his age.
- 172 Stevens. In Memory of Miss Dolly Stevens daughter of Mr. Jonathan & Mrs. Susannah Stevens who died May 15 1803 in the 15th year of her age.
- 173 Osgood. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Daniel Osgood who departed this Life March 9 1754 aged 60 years & 2 months.
- 174 Osgood. Mr. Thomas Osgood departed this life Nov 3^d 1798 AEtat 76.
Mrs. Sarah Osgood consort of Mr. Thomas Osgood died Nov 3^d 1798 AEtat 79.
- 175 Bradley. Mr. Joseph Bradley departed this Life March 21 1802 AEtat 56.
- 176 Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Priscilla Frie y^e widow Lieut Nathaniel Frie who died July 16 1735 aged in the 42^d year of his age.
- 177 Barker. Here lyes the Body of Mis Alles Barker who died Octo^r 1729 in y^e 32^d year of her age.
- 178 Barker. Here lyes buried y^e Body of Mrs. Hannah Barker wife to Lieut. Benjamin Barker who departed this life Janr^y 14th 1732 y^e 65th year of her age.
- 179 Here lyes buried ye Body of Lieut Benjamin Barker who departed this life Octob^r 11th A. D. 1750 in y^e 87th year of his age.
- 180 Here lyes buried the Body of Mr. Benjamin Barker

- who departed this life Octob^r y^e 6th 1765 in y^e 70th year of his age.
- 181 Barnard. Here lyes the Body of the Rev^d Mr. John Barnard who departed this life June 14th A. D. 1757 in y^e 67th year of his age.
- 182 Here lies the body of Theodore Barnard son to Mr. Theodore and Mrs. Hannah Barnard who died Febry y^e 20 A. D. 1725 aged 2 years & 4 months.
- 183 Barnard. Here lieth the body of Mr. Theodore Barnard son to y^e Rev^d Mr. Thomas Barnard who died Febry y^e 14 A. D. 1724 in y^e 33^d year of his age.
- 184 Aslebe. Johnson. John Aslebe y^e son of John & Linda Johnson who died June y^e 22, 1738 aged 8 weeks.
- 185 Stearns. Sparhawk. Here lies Mr. John Stearns (late Sparhawk) student in physic, sone to the Hon. late Thomas Sparhawk Esq^r of Walpole, N. H. who departed this life July 29th 1799 aged 21 years.
- 186 Peters. In Memory of Mr. John Peters who departed this life April 19th 1797 aged 91 years.
Come mortal man, cast here an eye
And read thy doom, prepare to die.
- 187 Peters. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Peters relict of Mr. John Peters who died Sept 24 1808 AEt. 86.
- 188 Granger. Sacred to the Memory of Samuel Granger who died June 4 1808 AEt 40.
A beloved brother gone but not forgotten.
- 189 Mr. Jacob Granger departed this Life Feb 4th 1795 AEt 60.
- 190 Granger. Mrs. Sarah Granger departed this life May 3^d 1806 AEt 73.
- 191 Ayer. Francis Ayer son of Samuel & Mary Ayer died Aug 9 1816 AEt 6.
- 192 Barker. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. Hana-niah Barker who departed this Life Novb^r y^e 19th 1767 in y^e 83^d year of his Age.
- 193 Johnson. Sacred to the Memory of Col Samuel

Johnson, who departed this Life November 12th
1796 AETat 84.

Heaven waits not, the last moment owns her friends
On this side death & points them out to men.

- 194 Johnson. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson Consort of Col. Samuel Johnson who departed this Life Sept^r 2^d 1796 AETat 74.

Whose work is done, who triumphs in the past

Whose yesterdays look backward with a smile.

- 195 Johnson. In Memory of Capt. Timothy Johnson who departed this Life March the 10th 1771 Aged 92 years.

- 196 Here lyes ye Body of Mrs. Katharine Johnson Consort to Cap^t Timothy Johnson who departed this life Febr^v y^e 22^d 1758 in y^e 77th year of her Age.

- 197 Johnson. Elizabeth Johnson the Daughter of Mr. Samuel and A. Elizabeth Johnson, who died the 30th day of July 1746 and in the Second year of her age.

- 198 Stevens. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Benjamin Stevens who departed this life Feb. 6 1800 in the 66 year of his Age.

- 199 Stevens. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Phoebe Stevens Daut^r of Mr. Benjamin Stevens who departed this life Sept y^e 12th 1760 in y^e 23^d year of her age.

- 200 Stevens. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Hannah Stevens widow of Benjamin Stevens who departed this life Novb^r the 11th 1784 aged 91 years.

- 201 Stevens. In Memory of Mr. Benjamin Stevens who departed this Life March the 26th A. D. 1748 in the 64th year of his Age.

- 202 Edes. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Susannah Edes wife of Mr. Thomas Edes who departed this Life Sept^r y^e 15th 1759 in y^e 24th year of her age.

An infant Still-born.

- 203 Huchinson. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mrs. Sarah Huchinson wife of Mr. Joseph Huchinson who died March y^e 29 1737 aged 1 mo. 55 years.

- 204 Abbott. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Ab-

bott widow to Mr. Thomas Abbott who died Sept^r y^e 30 1754 aged 73 years.

- 205 Abbott. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. Thomas Abbott who departed this life Decemb^r y^e 25th A. D. 1753 in y^e 8th year of his Age.

- 206 Kittredge. Sacred to the Memory of Doctr John Kittredge who departed this Life July the 10th A. D. 1776 in the 67th year of his age.

Mors feliciter finit Sanctam vitam.

- 207 Kittredge. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Kittredge late relict of Doc John Kittredge who departed this Life June 9 1788 in the 71 year of her age.

- 208 Kittredge. Sacred to the Memory of Miss Sally Kittredge third daughter of Dr. Thomas and Mrs. Susannah Kittredge who departed this Life Feb^r 12th 1796 aged 14 years 10 months.

Our mortal frames are subject to decay

Times beconing finger we must all obey.

- 209 Frye. Here lyes ye Body of Mrs. Mary Frye wife to Mr. William Frye who departed this life Sept^r y^e 28th 1763 in y^e 40th year of Her Age.

- 210 Johnson. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Hannah Johnson wife of Mr. John Johnson who departed this Life March y^e 19 1785 in y^e 34th year of her age.

- 211 Frost. William Frost son of Mr. William + Mrs. Sarah Frost who departed this Life April 12 1784 aged 11 months and 15 days.

- 212 Frost. Nathan Holt Frost son of Mr. William + Mrs. Sarah Frost who departed this Life July 9 1784 aged 5 years.

- 213 Chickering. Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Mrs. Hannah Chickering wife to Mr. Samuel Chickering Daut^r of John Osgood Esq^r who departed this Life March y^e 10th 1761 in y^e 51st year of Her Age.

- 214 Holt. Here lies the Body of Mr. Jedediah Holt the Consort of Mrs. Febe Holt who departed this life Feb y^e 12th 1790 in the 46th year of his age.

- 215 Holt. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Stephen Holt

- who departed this Life April 25 1788 in the 86th year of His Age.
- 216 Holt. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Mary Holt relict of Mr. Stephen Holt who departed this Life Aug^t 9, 1802, in the 89 year of her age.
- 217 Faulkner. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. John Faulkner son of Mr. Daniel + Mrs. Phebe Faulkner who died Dec 27 1800 in the 31st year of his age.
- 218 Emery. Part of the stone gone. Mrs. Emery died March 30 1738 in y^e 37th year of her age.
- 219 Tyler. Memento Mori. Erected in Memory of Mr. John Tyler son of Mr. Jacob + Mrs. Lydia Tyler who died August 16 A. D. 1784 in the 29th year of his Age.
- 220 Faulkner. Elizabeth Faulkner wife of Edmund Faulkner who died May y^e 23 in y^e 42 year of Her age.
- 221 Parker. Martha Parker died October y^e 27 1707 aged 4 years + 8 months.
- 222 Chickering. In Memory of Dean Chickering son of Mr. Sam^l Chickering Jun^r and Mrs. Mary who died Feb 15 1768 in y^e 9th year of his age.
- 223 Chickering. In Memory of Hannah Chickering Daut^r of Sam^l Chickering Jun + Mrs Mary who died Feb 28 1768 in y^e 6 year of her age.
- 224 Noyes. In Memory of Mrs. Abigail Noyes Dau^r of Dr. Nikolas + Mrs. Sarah Noyes who died May 12 1790 in the 63 year of her age.
- 225 Noyes. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Mary Noyes Daut^r of Doct Nicholas + Mrs. Sarah Noyes who departed this Life Oct^r y^e 22 1765 in y^e 26th year of Her Age.
- 226 Noyes. Here lyes Buried the body of Doct^r Nicholas Noyes who departed this Life May y^e 17 1765 in y^e 62 year of His age.
- 227 Noyes. In Memory of Mrs. Sarah Noyes Relict of Dr. Nicholas Noyes + late of Andover who died May 8 1790 in the 87 year of her age.
- 228 Noyes. Sacred to the Memory of D^r. Ward Noyes who died Dec. 26, 1808, AEt 75.

- 229 Noyes. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Timothy Noyes who died Feb 6 1814 AE 88.
- 230 Noyes. In Memory of Mr. Phillip Noyes son of Mr. Timothy + Mrs. Sarah Noyes who died Octr 8 1812 AEt 48.
- 231 Montgomery. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Rebecca Montgomery wife of late Alexander Montgomery who died Oct 2 1806 AEt 60.

Also

- Rebecca P. Montgomery daughter of Lieut Alex^r Montgomery who died Octr 31 1808.
- 232 Stevens. In Memory of Peter Stevens Jr. who died Aug. 12 1840 AEt 52.
- 233 Stevens. Ezra Stevens died June 20, 1856 AEt. 54.
- 234 Phillips. In Memory of Lieu John Phillips who died Sep 25 1816 AEt 82.
- 235 Phillips. And of Elizabeth wife of Lieu John Phillips who died May 11 1807 AEt. 71.
- 236 Tyler. Here lyes y^e Body of Mrs. Abigail Tyler wife to Jacob Tyler Jun^r who died June 9 1752 in y^e 26th year of Her age.
She left two children.
- 237 Bridges. Erected in Memory of Mrs. Eleanor Bridges the wife of Mr. James Bridges who died May 5th 1776.
- 238 Bridges. Erected in Memory of Mr. James Bridges who departed this life July 17th 1747 in the 51st year of his age.
Being melted to death by extreem heat.
- 239 Bridges. In Memory of Mr. James Bridges Jr. who departed this Life Nov y^e 23^d aged 38 years + 8 days.
- 240 Chickering. In Memory of Mrs. Mary Chickering Consort of Mr. John Chickering who died Feb 10th 1817 AEt 22 and of two children of Mr. John + Mrs. Mary Chickering,. John died Nov^r 1816 aged three days and Maria C died Nov
- 241 Kimball. In Memory of Peter Kimball ob. Aug. 10, 1794 AEt 42.

This is the debt that's nature's due
And I have paid + so must you.

- 242 Chickering. Sacred to the Memory Doc Joseph Chickering son of Mr. Samuel + Mrs. Mary Chickering who departed this Life Aug^t 23^d 1797 in the 25th year of his age.
- 243 Chickering. In Memory of Miss Sarah Chickering Daug^r of Mr. Samuel and Mrs. Mary Chickering who died August 31, 1802 in the 37 year of her age.
- 244 Chickering. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. Samuel Chickering who died March 16 1814 Aet 82.
- 245 Foster. Erected to the Memory of Capt Asa Foster who departed this Life July 17th A. D. 1787 in the 77th year of his Age.
- 246 Forster. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Forster wife to Capt Asa Forster who departed this Life July y^e 1758 in ye 46 year of Her Age.
- 247 Foster. Erected to the Memory of Mrs. Lucy Foster, Relict of Cap Asa Foster who departed this Life Oct 17th 1787 in the 64th year of her age.
- 248 Wilson. In Memory of Mrs. Lucy Wilson consort of Cap^t John Wilson who died Oct^r 6 1795 aged 30 years.
- 249 Wilson. In Memory of John R. Wilson who died Mar 18 1816 aged 2 years and of Maria Wilson who died Feb 21 1816 aged 10 years, children of Lieu Joshua + Mrs. Dolly Wilson.
- 250 Osgood. Erected in Memory of Isaac Osgood son of Mr. Timothy and Mrs. Chloe Osgood who departed this Life March 23 1796 AEtat 24.
- 251 Osgood. Here lies Buried the Body of Mr. Timothy Osgood Jun^r who departed this Life August 31 1753 in the 35 year of His Age.
- 252 Osgood. Here lies Buried the Body of Mr. Timothy Osgood who departed this Life Sep^t ye 16th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1748 in y^e 90th year of His Age.
- 253 Osgood. In Memory of Mr. Jacob Osgood who departed this Life Oct the 18th 1785 in the 53^d year of his age.

- 254 Wilson. In Memory of Lieu Joshua Wilson Junr who died May 11 1816 AEt. 29.
- 255 Willson. In Memory of Frederic Willson son of Mr. Joshua + Mrs. Dorothy Willson who died Jan^{ry} 30, 1802 aged 12 years.
- 256 Dearborn. Mr. Samuel Dearborn departed this life Oct 5th 1803 AEtat 23.
- 257 Allen. Sacred to the Memory of Miss Mehitable Allen who died Sep 8 1813 AEt. 64.
- 258 Swan. In Memory of Mrs. Affa Swan the wife of Mr. Robert Swan who departed this Life Feb 11 1780 in the 20th year of her age.
- 259 Challayhan. A daughter of Mr. Robert + Lydia Challayhan who died May the 30th 1781 aged 9 years.
- 260 Callahan. In Memory of Edward Callahan son of Mr. Robert + Mrs. Dorcas Callahan who died Sep 19 1815 aged 12 years 3 mons + 1 day.
- 261 Gardner. In Memory of the Widow Sarah Gardner who died Nov. 15, 1809 AEt. 23.
- 262 Memento Mori. In Memory of Mrs. Sarah Bradley consort of Mr. Jonathan Bradley who died Sep^r 14th A. D. 1790 AEtat 40.
- 263 Here lies Buried the Body of Mrs. Mary the wife of Mr. Timothy Osgood who departed this Life July 13th 1752 Aged 87 years.
- 264 Here lyes ye Body of Isaac Osgood son of Mr. Peter + Mrs. Sarah Osgood who died Octo^r 11th 1753 aged 9 years 8 months + 3 days.
- 265 Osgood. Here lyes y Body of Joseph Osgood son of Mr. Peter + Mrs. Sarah Osgood who died Octo 14 1753, aged 6 years and 10 months.
- 266 Osgood. In Memory of Mr. Joseph Osgood son of Mr. Peter + Mrs. Sarah Osgood who departed this Life Octo^r 17th 1762 in y^e 5th year of his age.
- 267 Osgood. In Memory of Sarah Osgood Daught^r of Mr. Peter + Mrs. Sarah Osgood who departed this life Octo^r y^e 24th 1762 in y^e 13 year of her age.
- 268 Osgood. In Memory of Lydia Osgood Dautr of Mr.

Peter + Mrs. Sarah Osgood who departed this Life
Feb^y 22^d 1763 in y^e 3^d year of her age.

- 269 Osgood. Erected in Memory of Capt Peter Osgood
who died Nov 19, 1801 aged 84.
- 270 Osgood. Mrs. Sarah Osgood Relict of Capt. Peter
Osgood died April 1 1804 AEt. 84.
- 271 Barker. Mehitabel Barker Daught of Mr. Richard
+ Mrs. Mehitabel Barker who died Augs^t 9th 1747
aged 2 years + 4 months.
- 272 Barker. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. Samuel
Barker who departed this life May the 13th in y^e
79th year of His age.
- 273 Martin. In Memory of Susanna Martin Dau^r of
Mr. Solomon + Mrs. Phebe Martin who died June
10th 1792 aged 3 years 10 months.
- 274 Barker. Here lies Buried the Body of Sarah the
Daughter of Mr. Samuel and Sarah Barker Jun^r
who departed this Life Sept 29 1763 in the 16 year
of her Age.
- 275 Johnson. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Abiah
Johnson wife of Mr. Asa Johnson who departed this
life October 22^d 1793 AEtat 23.
For us they languish, and for us they die
And shall they languish, shall they die in vain
- 276 Phelps. In Memory of Mr. Joseph Phelps who died
27 Jan 1802 in the 78 year of his Age.
- 277 Barker. Here lies Buried the Body of Sarah
Barker the wife of Samuel Barker Jun who died
Nov^r 23 1740 in y^e 44 year of her age.
- 278 Page. Hannah Page the Daur of Mr. Daniel +
Mrs. Hannah Page who departed this Life June 7th
1763 aged 2 years + 2 months.
- 279 Page. Betty Page Dau of Mr. Daniel + Mrs.
Hannah Page who departed this Life Nov^r 17th
1771.
- 280 Page. In Memory of Miss Mary Page Daur of Mr.
Daniel and Mrs. Hannah Page who departed this
Life July 5th 1777 aged 18 years and 11 months.
- 281 Page. In Memory of Daniel Page son of Mr.

- Daniel and Mrs. Hannah Page who departed this Life May 23^d 1769 aged 9 years + 2 months.
- 282 Page. In Memory of Miss Sarah Page Dau^r of Mr. Daniel + Mrs. Hannah Page, who departed this Life Dec^r 11 1779 aged 16 years and 7 months.
- 283 Page. My Glass is run. In Memory of Mr. Daniel Page who died 16 June 1801 in the 70th year of his age.
- 284 Page. In Memory of Mrs. Hannah Page widow of Mr. Daniel Page who died Sept 28 1824 AEt 93.
- 285 Bridges. In Memory of Cap. Isaac Bridges who died at Fayal April 19, 1805 AE 53
and
of his sister Mrs. Susanna Moore who died at Andover June 8, 1805 AEt. 44.
- 286 Bridges. Here were deposited the Remains of Mr. Moody Bridges who departed this Life on the 14th of July 1801 in the 79th year of his age.
He was a man eminently useful in his day
He lived beloved revered and died greatly lamented by all his family + acquaintances.
- 287 Bridges. In Memory of Mrs. Naamah Bridges, the wife of M^r. Moody Bridges, who died Nov 12 1779 aged 53 year
and
Sarah Daur of Mr. Moody + Mrs. Naamah, who died Feb 14 1754 aged 3 years + 9 months + Enoch son of M^r. Moody and Mrs. Naamah who died June 7 1764 aged 1 year + 14 days.
- 288 Baldwin. In Memory of Mrs. Martha Baldwin Relict of Mr. Henery Baldwin of Shrewsbury who departed this Life Jan'y 8th 1792 in the 64 year of her age.
- 289 Frie. Here lyes buried the body of Isaac Frie who died May 31, 1741 + in 43 year of his age.
Tabitha y^e Daughter of Isaac Frie dyed May y^e 30, 1741 and in y^e 2 year of her Age.
- 290 Here lyes the Body of Cap Abiel Frye who departed this Life March the 22nd 1757 in y^e 54th year of his age.

- 291 Dillaway. Sacred to the Memory of Mr. William Dillaway who died July 5 1812 AEt 61.
- 292 Frie. Here lyes y^e Body of Joshua Frie son of M^r. Joshua + Mrs. Sarah Frie who died Jany 23 1747 aged 9 years 26 days.
- 293 Frie. Joshua y^e son of Mr. Joshua + Mary Frie who dyed September y^e 5th 1738 in y^e 12th year of Her age.
- 294 Frie. Jonathan ye son of Joshua + Mary Frie who dyed August y^e 28 1738 + in y^e 19 year of His age.
- 295 Frie. Alford son of Mr. Joshua + Sarah Frie who (stone gone)
- 296 Phinehas y^e son of Mr. Joshua Mrs. Sarah Frie Dyed August y^e 26 1738 + in y^e 4th year of His age.
- 297 Frie. Here lyes Buried the Body of Mrs. Mary Frie the wife of Mr. Joshua Frie who died Dec. y^e 24, 1729 + in y^e 30 First year of Her Age.
- 298 Frie. Here lyes Buried the Body of M^r. Joshua Frye who departed this Life Octo^r y^e 2^d 1768 in y^e 68th Year of His age.
- 299 Frye. Here lies the Body of Mrs. Sarah Frye, widow of Mr. Joshua Frye who departed this Life April the 5th 1781 Aged 69 years.
She opened her mouth with wisdom + in her Tongue was the law of Kindnefs.
- 300 Wood. In Memory of Mrs. Debora Wood wife of Mr. Obadiah Wood who died Sept 11, 1794 aged 63 years.
- 301 Carlton. Peter, son of Mr. John + Chloe Carlton died Octr 14, 1814 aged 6 years + 4 months.
- 302 Carlton. In Memory of Mr. Peter Carlton who died Feb^r 21, 1804 aged 69 years.
- 303 Carlton. Here lies the body of Mrs. Marcy Carlton widow of Mr. Ezekiel Carlton who departed this Life Aug. the 27, 1781 in y^e 70 year of her age.
- 304 Carlton. Here lies buried the body of Mr. Ezekiel Carlton who departed this Life August y^e 26 1775 in y^e 74th year of his age.

- 305 Lovejoy. Sacred to the Memory of Gen Nathan¹ Lovejoy who died July 5, 1813 AEt. 68.
- 306 Lovejoy. In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Lovejoy wife of Nathan¹ Lovejoy Esq^r who died Nov 19 1788 aged 38 years
and
Nathaniel son of Nath¹ + Eliz^a who died August 6, 1776 aged 2 weeks and
Nathaniel son of Nath¹ + Eliz^a who died Sept 26, 1784 aged 8 months + 13 days.
- 307 Lovejoy. In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Lovejoy wife of Nath¹ Lovejoy Esq^r who died April 24, 1775 aged 31 years and A Male child born of Eliz^a + buried June 21, 1771 and Elizabeth dau^r of Nath¹ + Eliz^a who died May 8th 1774 aged 11 months + 9 days and Nathaniel son of Nath¹ + Eliz^a who died May 18, 1775 aged 4 months + 5 days.
- 308 Lovejoy. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Nathaniel Lovejoy who departed this Life suddently in an Apoplectick Fit August y^e 25, 1768 aged 69 years + 6 months.
- 309 Here lyes buried the body of Elizabeth Lovejoy widow of M^r. Nathaniel Lovejoy who departed this life with a Consumption June y^e 21 1770 aged 60 years + 4 months.
- 310 Abraham. Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Martha Abraham Relict of M^r. William Abraham of Charlestown, Distiller, who died Sept 17th 1783 aged 85 years.
- 311 Lacy. In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Lacy (late of Charlestown) who died Sept y^e 7th 1788 in the 66 year of her age.
- 312 Ingalls. Hear Lyes buried the body of Mrs. Abigail Ingalls who died August 11, 1712 in the 50th year of her age.
- 313 Ingalls. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Abigail Ingalls who lived a widow 58 years + departed this life July y^e 9 1758 in the 88th year of her age.
- 314 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of Mrs. Mehi-

- table the wife of Mr. John Barker who died Dec^r 4, 1752 in y^e 64th year of her age.
- 315 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of Quarter-master John Barker who died March 19, 1751 in y^e 78th year of his age.
- 316 Barker. Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Sarah Barker the wife of M^r. John Barker who died November y^e 2, 1726 and in y^e 40 first year of her age.
- 317 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of Johannah Barker the daughter of Mr. John Barker who died July y^e 24, 1736 + in y^e 19 year of her age.
- 318 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. William Barker who died Jan^y 16 1745 in 67th year of his age.
- 319 Barker. Here lyes buried the body of M^{rs}. (May?) Barker the wife of William Barker who died April the 29 1744 in y^e (obliterated)
- 320 Steevens. Here lyes y^e body of Esther Steevens wife to John Steevens aged 62 years + 1 mo. died June 25 1713.
- 321 Steevens. Here lyes the body of David Steevens son of Mr. John + Mrs. Esther Steevens died October 2 1722 aged 36 years and 6 Dayes.
- 322 Parker. Here lyes the body of Joseph Parker aged 34 years Dec'd Nov^{br} 9, 1715.
- 323 Parker. Here lyes the body of Abigail Parker wife to Joseph Parker aged 29 years 2 months + 21 days. Dec'd May 4, 1717.
324. Barker. Here lyes buried the body of William Barker who died March the 4th 1718 and in 73 year of his age.
- 325 Barker. Joshua Barker son of Samuel and Sarah Barker Jun^r who died August 29 in 1730 and in y^e second of his age.
- 326 Barker. Joshua Barker son of Samuel Sarah Barker Jun^r who died September y^e 4 1727 aged three weaks old.
- 327 Stevens. Here lyes buried the body of Samuel Stevens who died Jeneuary 30 1718 and in y^e 40 first year of his age.

- 328 Emery. Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Joseph Emery who died Sepp^{tr} 1721 + in the 59th year of his age.
- 329 Primus. In Memory of PRIMUS who was a faithful servant of M^r. Benjamin Stevens Jun^r who died July 25 1792 aged 72 years 5 months 16 days.
- 330 Osgood. In Memory of Thomas Osgood son of D^r. Joseph + Mrs. Margaret Osgood who Departed this Life Sep^r the 12th 1771 Aged 14 years and 10 months.
- 331 Holt. Here lyes Buried the Body of M^r. Stephen Holt Jun^r who departed this life March the 8th 1771 in y^e 28 year of His Age.
- 332 Symmes. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Anna Symmes late amiable consort of the Rev. William Symmes who departed this life June 18th 1772 in y^e 38th year of Her age.
- 333 Farnum. Sacred to the memory of Mr. Enoch Farnum who died March 13 1815 AE 48.
- 334 Emery. Elizabeth Emery the wife of Mr. Joseph Emery who died July 29 1729 in the 30th year of her Age.

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" Mrs. Lucy	247	" Mr. Putnam	147
" Samuel	61	" Mrs. Sarah	142
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EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY AND THE
LETTERS OF ABBOT KINSMAN FROM
SAN FRANCISCO, THE PACIFIC,
HONG KONG AND THE
PHILIPPINES.

Contributed by Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe

(Concluded from Vol. LXXXIX, p. 93)

Manila Jany 18th 1864
Monday Eve.

My dear Nat,

I had just been called from my room to see a cake of ice made here today. The Engineer, Miller who I have spoken of in my letters home has at last got the machine as he wanted it. He has had a continuation of rows with the owners of the Ice Machine ever since I have been here, because they would not do as he wanted them to. I assure you a good glass of cold wine tasted good. I am not in the habit of drinking rum of any kind, but I do occasionally. I have been told by a fast young man in our office that if I did not drink a good deal of liquor in this country I would die very soon. I said let him die then. This same young man was rather unwell a few days ago from the effects of rum. Saturday evening I went by invitation of Huntington to a ball as they are termed here, with himself and Ned Edwards, and had as good a time as could be expected, not knowing how to talk Spanish or to dance any round dances, which by the way are very gay. H. pitches in like a good fellow I wish you and W. had been here to attend the Baile last Saturday evening. There were lots of pretty girls there regular Spanish ones. Mrs. Edwards was there and stayed until eleven o'clock, I was with her nearly all the time she stayed and came home myself about twelve. H. and E. went home about half past two A.M. I was up and dressed about half past six and was off in the bay at nine with H. We went aboard the *Daring* to breakfast, and a first rate one we had a regular New England breakfast. Brown bread and beans, fish balls, Indian cake &c.

There were five from shore there and a jolly good time we did have. She is very near loaded and if I felt a little richer I would buy some nice cigars and send you by her, as she goes to Boston. When she arrives you had better go aboard of her and see Capt. W. W. Henry. He is a first rate man. If you want something to take, just tell him his ship is very long. I heard that expression when I was in H. K. first time. You see by this letter that I am not off for Albay yet. Mr. Pearson told me that they were short of hands in the office and that I must stay until some of them got back. G. Sturgis has gone down to the Provinces and will be back shortly. And another clerk has gone over to H. K. sick. They say outside, that he was the best fellow in the office Huntington and young Edward have moved into town now, and have given me a standing invitation to come and see them whenever I feel like it. Tomorrow I am to go and dine with them at seven and then to a feast somewhere out of town or rather in a small town. When you go over a bridge here, which by the way are very numerous, you are in another town. If I go to walk and any one asks me where I have been I tell them I have been over so many bridges in such and such a direction, and any one who is well acquainted here can tell me what town I have been in. I like my situation very well, though I have to work pretty hard, and when I come home I must say I don't feel much like writing, but write to you at home, I must and shall. Thursday evening. I had an awful hard day's work, all hands were riled up. In fact all of us had more than we possibly could do. All took a mouthful of breakfast and then run, the same way at tiffin. My clothes were as wet as sop when I came out of the office. The hotel is very near the office so I don't have to walk far, and it is not hot when I go or return. There is no kind of accomodation at this Hotel for bathing which is very necessary in this climate both morning and evening. Russell & Sturgis are building a large house for the office and for the accomodation of the clerks who are now forced to live all about the county. in all sorts of houses. Most of them live in what are called Nepa houses, built of bamboo and thatched with Nepa, a

kind of Palm leaf, which they say are very cool and pleasant. They all used to live together before the Earth Quake. The Earth Quake is a sort of a new era here. People speak of things before and after the Earth Quake. If I find I am not going away from Manila soon I am going to change my place of abode to another hotel, which is much nicer and better food, kept by a native of Calcutta, a black feller. I wrote in my last letter to Mother that at the office they were very particular about not having things known outside the office that go on inside, and it is now known all over Manila that I was to have gone last week. Huntington must have told for I have not. I wish he could keep still about my affairs, to other people. You can bet your life that I shan't tell him anything more I don't wish known. He has been pleasant, polite and kind to me since I have been here But as it is late, and as I want to get away from the bites of these singing creatures, inside of my mosquito net I can't get out of hearing of their singing but away from their bites I can, if careful in getting in. Oh! I went to dine with H. & E. this evening and enjoyed it, did not go to the feast There is a young Spaniard in our office by the name of Benigno-Corvalles who was educated in Salem at Master Worcesters, and says he remembers you very well, but Bill he says was grown up but still he remembers him, and desired me to remember him to you both. I like him first rate. I have my best Jib and Mainsail bent now all the time, white jacket and pants you should see me, quite a gay boy I assure you. I have spent a lot of money in getting fixed out, over a hundred dollars all things put together. Quite a pile in so short a time, is it not. I am glad I had some money to start on of my own. You have almost heard of my intention to come over here, by this time. I hope you will be pleased with the idea. I suppose I am a fixture here for a few years, but I am not going to stay many even if they will keep me. Please tell Charley Rea it is not my intention to write to him until I receive a letter. I don't believe in writing too many letters to a fellow and getting no answers. Of course give a great deal of love to mother and William and Johnny¹⁵ and

15 The Malay servant.

please remember me to the girls The home mail is sometime overdue, but we shan't probably get it for some days as both of the confounded Spanish mail steamers have broken down in Hong Kong I don't know if I have anything more to say, except I hope my next letters will be dated Albay, so I am dear Nat

Your loving brother
Abbott

Love to Relations

Manila 29th. Jany. 1864
Thursday evening.

My dear Mother,

I received your letter enclosed in one from William, and also one from Sarah Hacker in the same envelope all of which I was much pleased to receive, on the 25th inst. Yours was dated November 8th. Philadelphia. I am very glad you went to Phila and enjoyed yourself so much and I wish that I had been there I am sorry thee did not see Lillie Parrish¹⁶ for I would very much have liked to have heard from her. Sarah H. mentions about her having grown very handsome, and was the admiration of every one. I wish I could see her I had no difficulty in deciphering your letter whatever. I wish you could see some of the writing that I do have to decipher. Copy-writing from bad press copies is no easy work. I have nearly all the bills of Ladings and invoices to copy and some of the fancy jobs to do. When the *Wyoming* went away from here, Mr. Green (who is the head of the firm of Russell & Sturgis) very mysteriously disappeared, no one knew until the next day he was gone. That is the way he does, no one knows what he is going to do from one moment to the next. But with all his peculiarities I like him. With your letters I received two others, one from Bill Simonds, and the other from Capt. Mullin in Hong Kong. Poor man he says he is getting the blues, and wishes I was there to cheer him up. It must be trying to his patience to have to lay the ship up so long and on his first voyage as master too. He used to say to me, "I suppose Mr. Stone will be mad, but what can I do." Mr. S,

16 A friend of Abbot at the Friend's School in Providence.

in my opinion is too careful, he gives limits far below the current prices, and expects his Captains to be on their way home, long before there is a chance to buy at his limits. The Capt. Nats are the chaps for him. They know what he means, when he writes to them a great long rigmarole. I am glad I have left his *employ*, or rather been able to. If I had command of the good old *Shirley* I should have loaded her and let him growl, but I could do no such thing, as I was only clerk and *seaman*. "Abbott get up there and furl the *MIZZEN ROYAL*!" No you don't; there's a seaman for you. Nat used to say I was a fine weather sailor, and go aloft when there was nothing to be done in the way of furling or reefing, but I did get up aloft once or twice when that thing was going on. If I use up all my paper tonight I shall have none to finish up on, and I don't like to have my letters too heavy for I do not pay my own postage. I had some mangoes today and they were spendid. I never tasted such nice fruit, but it is very early for them and they cost like everything, something like 17 cent each. About photographs, did you give one of mine to S. H.? If not please do. I think I shall have some taken here and will send you one, but they cost like everything, \$7. pr. dozen. Every place I go to they seem to be higher. S. Frisco \$5. I think, and in Hong Kong six. Well it is midnight here now and I must go to bed, though you are about taking dinner Sunday A.M. I am sitting here writing in my shirtsleeves and windows wide open. If William was here he would get warm very soon. I wish we could change places a little while for I would like to get cooled off. February 6th evening. The *Surprise* arrived yesterday from Hong Kong bringing W. Huntington's brother R. Tucker; Mr. Torry of our house and two young fellows who are going into the house. One of them is an Englishman and the other a Bostonian, by the name of Jefferys. The Englishman was given to my charge and is staying at the Hotel. He is about six months younger than I am but has almost as big a pair of whiskers as myself. Last Tuesday was a feast day, and I spent the day with George Sturgis, having a nap in the afternoon and a good bath after it in the river, as his garden ends

on the river and has a nice bamboo bath house at the end of it. It is the first dip I have had since I have been here. I had my "picture took" a few days ago, but the gentleman in our office who takes them, told me it was a bad proof and that I must go again. His name is Wood, and has been in the office thirty years, also a very gay gray headed old chap and kind to me. Notwithstanding the arrival of more hands in the office, I have not heard anything about going away and have almost given up the last glimmer of hope. Mr. Green has not yet returned from Hong Kong, perhaps when he does I may go. I don't like to give up the prospect for I want to go, and it is some time since first proposed . . . Saturday evening. I saw Huntington this afternoon, and he told me that he is going down to Albay for a month to recruit his health, and not to stay permanently he says. Before I arrived, he had had the cholera quite badly, and young Edwards said he thought at one time he was gone. He has not quite got well from the effects of it yet, so is going off to stay and do so. I am sorry he is going away and particularly sorry that he is going to that particular *place*, for I fear it may prevent my going, as they may like him to stay there. Geo Peirce¹⁷ is an agent for both houses, and so H. may go as well as myself. A procession has just passed my window, two pyramids of lamps carried on men's shoulders etc. Processions are very common here, this one had a band of music following. There are four or five bands here and first rate ones too. Office will be open tomorrow on account of being day before mail, though I can't see the especial need of it as most of the work is done. The time passes away here very quickly indeed and I am glad, for I do not love Manila very much. Sunday evening. I saw H. off this morning at eight o'clock and then went to the office and staid there until three this afternoon, not having to do one single thing in office line. After dinner Mr. Rogers and myself took a long walk of about five miles out into the country. I like to go with him for he knows all of the pleasant walks around about Manila, he is also

17 George H. Pierce of Hubbell & Co. in Manila. Agent also of Russell & Sturgis.



ABBOT KINSMAN

1844 - 1864

At the age of 20

considerable of a traveller and knows a good deal. He does not seem like any Englishman I have ever seen before. He is about thirty-five but looks ten years younger. He has never been in America but says he should like to see more of the American people. Huntington sends his "chin chin" to you all. Tomorrow is the commencement of the Chinese New Year. And they are commencing it tonight by making an awful noise. With love to all I remain your
loving son

A. Kinsman

Legaspi March 12th. 1864
Saturday eve.

My dear Nat,

I commenced a letter to you on Monday last, but thought it best to commence another one as that one was rather growly, on account of not receiving any letters from any of you for *three* mails. I have not omitted a single mail since I have been in this part of the world. My heart was made glad last Tuesday by receiving a letter from mother with a post script from William, since then I have felt much happier. Before this time you have heard of my settling down Ask Cousin Nat Brown why in the old harry he don't write to me, I suppose it is for the same reason that you have not,—because you did not know where I am. I like this place more and more, as I get on in Spanish, and can talk a little; and can understand more than I can speak. Mr. Peirce I like more and more also. He is a first rate fellow. He is a first, or second cousin, of my friend Charley Rea, who still continues to neglect me. Our friend the volcano has made himself visible several evenings since writing home last. Mr. P. and myself went last Thursday to Ligao (?) a town an awful long way from here to attend market, or rather go to men's houses who are dealers in Hemp. We changed horses once. I saw one Spanish girl who reminded me very much of Emily Hanson, for whos sake I wished very much to kiss her, but refrained, it being the first acquaintance. I talked a little to her, the next time I see her I hope I shall be able to talk more. There is a Spanish family here whom

we visit a great deal, by the name of Salazar, I do not really enjoy going there. The girls here of 13 years of age are as forward as ours at home are at eighteen.

When I first saw Emelia Salazar I thought she was certainly eighteen but she is only thirteen, and not *very* pretty or cordial to me. The other daughter Clara who is about my age, is very nice indeed, but all her time is taken with the Alcalde, who is almost old enough to be the father of a girl twice her age. An Alcalde is the governor of the town. Monday eve. 14th. I get on little by little with my letter to you. Last evening Mr. P. and myself went up to the Salazar's house and had a first rate time, better than I had ever had before there, dancing like everything all the time we were there. I tried the polka with Emelia, but as I had never tried but once before to dance it, we did not get along very well together, so gave it up as a bad job. Then Mrs. S., took me, and as she is a very large lady I could not help learning. Some time after I tried it with another young lady who was there, and got through very well, they said. A pretty occupation, you will say for Sunday evening, but say what you may I had a first rate time. We also danced a dance that I never saw at home, called the Harbinera, a very crummy dance. No more dancing until after Lent, and then Mrs. Salazar says she shall give a big ball. One of our vessels coming to an anchor a few days ago, came ashore, and if there had been no vessels here at the time, H. and I would have had a chance to show our seamanship in getting her off. Both R. & S. and P & H own small vessels which come down here for the hemp and carry it to Manila. We had quite a big crowd here to dine tonight, and prevented Peirce & Huntington from going up to Salazars. We grub four times a day, at seven A.M., twelve, four & seven P.M. The craft I came down in, arrived again from Manila today, and the skipper says I have grown fat.

You may wonder at my not giving a better description of this place, but you know I am not good at giving descriptions, and there is not a great deal about this place to be described. Coaconut trees and Plantins are growing in our garden or rather yard, a part of which I intend making

into a flower garden. I wish you were all here to see the place yourselves, and if you did not think it a beautiful place, then I should be greatly mistaken. There are some very pretty drives but awful roads. We wish the Alcalde would love a little less and see to work being done a little more. Tuesday evening 15th . . . I am very glad Mr. D. did not give me a situation for I should not like to be under any obligation to such a man as he is. Very few people outside of his own office like him. I have heard nothing from Mr. Hammond, and I don't care about it now. Mother says if I come home and meet Mr. H. there I may like to accompany him *back* to China, don't talk to me of such a thing, I have been back to China enough. When you see me at home, you may suppose I am going to stay there. When that happy time will be I don't know. . . . I think I have not mentioned meeting a Capt. Ayrs and wife in Manila, who are next door neighbours of Uncle Edwards. She is a very nice lady, and we had quite a long talk together about matters and things . . . I am looking forward to the 10th, or middle of April with a great deal of pleasure, as I ought to have letters from you in answer to mine saying I was coming to Manila to put up. You probably received my letter, saying I was coming to Manila, about the 10th of February, and giving you a few days, I ought to receive an answer in April. I long to hear what you think about my coming to Manila. Do you remember Nat, what you and William said to me about remaining in the Salem Custom House, and not going to sea, I do well; but I must not expect you to find me a situation when I returned. I also remember that W. said to me just before leaving, that he should knock off work in 1864 and live on me if I found a situation in China, tell him not to knock off yet. Wednesday morning. I must cut my letter short as I go to Ginobatan to drive a gentleman, and should be obliged to make an all day job of it.

Your affect. brother,

Abbott

P. M. 5 o'clock I have got back sooner than I expected and have had a fine time. H. sends his chin chin.

Legaspi March 27th 1864
Easter Sunday P. M.

My dear Mother,

Since writing to Nat we have done but very little to write about. Last Sunday commenced Holy Week, and in the evening, we had a grand procession here in Legaspi, the images representing the trial and conviction of our Saviour. Thursday altars were put up all around, at the corners of the streets. A sort of three sided shanty built of bamboo and nepa. The appearances inside however were quite pleasing. Pictures and images of the Virgin Mary lamps etc. inside. That evening we walked to Albay, no carriages horses carts or any other of those kind of things being allowed to go out on Thursday & Friday. Friday evening we went again, and went to the Administrador's house (Salaza's) and saw another procession in which were several images of the Virgin and a large glass coffin in which was an image representing Christ. All were set round with candles and a large concourse of men women & children walking, single file on each side of the road nearly every one carrying lighted candles. They have a peculiar kind of music for Thursday and Friday, consisting of trunk handles knocking against a piece of board The music is made by a turn of the arm. I would not have you think I am making fun, for I am not, I respect everyone's religion. I have not been unwell since the first three days I was here, and that I think was caused by the seven o'clock dinner. This is a much more healthy place than Manila, and I hope I may remain well the time I am in this part of the world. We hear that Messrs Green and Russell of our house and Mr. Palmer of Peele Hubbell's and another gentleman have chartered a small steamer to carry them about the Philippine Islands and among other places they visit Albay. I wish Mr. Green would not come for I am afraid of him, however they won't stay long probably. The first of next month Mr. Peirce makes me cashier. I have at last received my pictures from Manila and will enclose one to you. They are not very good though I *have* grown ugly since I left home. I did not decide to stay here to get handsome but

to get money. The more Spanish I learn the more I enjoy myself as I understand more of what is said. I talk but very little as yet for I am afraid, for fear of making mistakes and I told one of the Miss Salazars so the other evening and she said "no tenza V. miedo" be not afraid, and the rest of the Spanish she said I got H. to translate to me which was "for if you make mistakes we will correct you, and then you will learn much faster if you talk." Monday eve. We had a grand dance last night at the Salazars and I had a very nice time. I suppose dear mother you will think I am becoming very wicked, dancing on Sundays, and not going to church. I however read my bible sometimes, but have not as often since I have been down here as I did in Manila, but I am a good boy in some respects for all that. I have my own boy, and shall get a horse as soon as Huntington goes back to Manila and sends me down the fixings for one. I have got to spend an awful lot of money on white clothes, but am *earning* what I shall pay for them with. How good I did feel when I felt the first seventy-five dollars in my pocket, of a month and a half earnings about. I tell you Mother, it seems good to feel I am earning something, let alone finding out about business. I don't imagine I shall find out about general business as well here as I would in Manila. But in the house in Manila I should not be advanced very fast, I imagine, as there are a goodly number of clerks to step up before me, having been in the office longer than I have. *If* Mr. P. goes home and *I* take his place it is quite likely that I shall get big pay. He gets 6000.00 but this last remark is not to go outside of your Church St. house, on any consideration There are more people from New England out in this part of the world than from any other part from the U. S. and great numbers hail from Salem. More particularly in China though. H. and myself are the only ones I know of in the Philippines, who come from Salem Today we had Mr. Dayot and daughter, and Miss Aurora (the young lady who is at the Salazars every evening) to breakfast, & they stayed until four P.M. when they went on their way home to Tabaco a province town about three hours drive from here. Au-

rorra Pahol is the young lady's name. Miss D. is very pretty indeed and a beautiful dancer. Aurora is a very nice dancer also. Both of them are thirteen years old. At home a girl of thirteen is a small girl and dances with boys somewhere near her own age, but in Spanish countrys they are different. They don't know as much as our girls at home do at thirteen.

Legaspi April 22d, 1864
Friday evening

My dear Nat,

The mail leaves next Wednesday, but I am here alone tonight, and feel like commencing a letter to you. Mr. P. has gone to Albay as usual, I did not wish to go. I hope your good long letter that I have heard so much about is nearer me, than home. I expect Messrs R. and S. will growl at the length of it, or rather the size but I don't care. We called on the Weavers (Doña Vivins family) late yesterday afternoon. One of the daughters, Mariquita by name is a very pretty girl, the prettiest Mestiza girl I have seen. I gave her a very sweet message from H. he was very sweet on her while he was there. I have a favorite, a Spaniard, but she lives some distance from here. There is a band a few houses from here, playing at the present time, the Habanera, which crummy dance I have spoken about, in some of my letters. You have a private little dance, with every girl in the dance, and when they leave their partners they come to you they have a way of jumping into your arms. I was very nearly knocked over the first time, but now I understand it perfectly, and dance it very well so they tell me. It is not a dance to be described, but seen and danced, I wish you and W. were here. It was some time before I began to enjoy myself, but now as I can talk a little Spanish, I enjoy myself very much, and particularly when there is any dancing going on. I did not have half so good a time in Manila as I am having here, and I have a good reason to believe there is more pay down here, though don't know for certain. I might possibly have obtained a situation in Shanghai, pay one thousand per annum had I waited for an answer from Mr. Hammond, but at the end of the year, I should not probab-

ly have had one cent, everything is so expensive. There was (a) fellow in Manila when H. went back from here, with a letter of introduction to him from Henry Creamer in Shanghae. The fellow, Lawrence, by name, goes home in the *Fearless* now loading in Manila for Boston. I worked almost all my sea brown off in Manila, but am now blacker than ever, being out so much. I am also growing very fat; my weight now is about 155 pounds. Mr. Peirce and I took a walk Sunday afternoon, from the house and back again is about four miles. We bring up on the beautiful little beach of a fishing village called Lamba. It is fun to stand and see the bancas coming in and the expectant gaze of the wives and children. The boats are nothing but a dugout tree, with a large mat sail and outriggers of Bamboo, but they go through the water very fast. We seemed to be a kind of curiosity over there for they flocked around us as if they had never seen a white man before. I hope to go part way up the Volcano sometime or other. I should not dare, though I should like to go up to the top. An eruption is likely to take place at any time, and there is no knowing which side the lava may come down. It is said that two Spaniards and two Indians went up there, and stuck a pole up with a sheet on it, so that people could see that they had been up to the very top. I would like to see that big hole, called the crater, where all the lava I have seen comes from. If it has a big eruption you may bid me goodbye, for you will probably never see me again, if it does. If we have any warning of it, and there is a vessel here we go immediately on board and shove off, and run the risk of being hit by some thundering great rock as large as the vessel itself. In the eruption of 1814 stones were thrown ten and twelve miles away, I expect to see something pretty in the next monsoon the S.W. for then the lava spouts up in the air, whereas now it only runs over the side. Sunday morning. We went up to the Salazars last evening & I carried my Photograph book. They were very much pleased with the pictures, and said I had a fine collection of pretty faces. They have my picture and they are going to give me theirs when they come down from Manila. Mr. P. has gone to Tabaco this morn-

ing. I did not go, because we have about forty thousand dollars in the house and do not like to leave it alone. The money chest is at the foot of Mr. P.'s bed, and when he is away over night, I sleep in his room with a loaded pistol under my pillow with orders to shoot any one who comes into the room after I am in bed. Before I came down here, there was a small iron box taken from the office containing a little money and some valuable papers, which was afterwards found on the beach buried in the sand. The papers were all there, but the money gone. The forty thousand, is mostly in Silver dollars. Tuesday evening, 26th. I stay at home from Salazars esta noche this evening on purpose to finish my letters as the day of the mail we have a good deal of work to do The mail arrived this afternoon from Manila. It is no fault of any of you at home that I have received no home mail but the fault of R. & S. Three weeks and no letter from home. I wish H. had sent me down W's letter for it seems you had heard of my prospect of coming to Manila. Enclosed I send you a memo of the things I would like sent to me. Direct the box to me at Manila care of Thomas Hunt & Co., Hong-kong, and Care of Russell & Sturgis of Manila. Freight payable at home or in Hong Kong just as you see fit. More vessels go direct to H.K. than to Manila. This afternoon we had a young earthquake, which shook the house considerable; it lasted about three seconds. Ours is a nepa roofed house and I am not afraid as I was in Manila of the heavy tiled roofs falling in, and mashing me. —With much love to mother, W. yourself and Johnie believe me.

Your affectionate brother
A. Kinsman.

Love to relations and friends of course.

Legaspi 8th May 1864
Sunday afternoon

My dear Mother,

Another home mail should arrive in Manila some time this week. And we should receive our letters next week. Even if one comes then, it will have been six weeks since

the receipt of a letter from home. Today I have been reading over a good many home letters, but one new one would be worth all the old ones, though they are very interesting, and recall things that I had forgotten Tuesday evening 10th. I am delighted to be able to acknowledge the receipt of three letters yours under dates of Feby. 8 & 21st. W's 9th and 23rd H. sent me down the account of the 19th Regiment which W. sent to him. I am very glad you approve of my step, but don't know how you will feel about my coming to the Provinces. Capt. Mullin does not like the idea of it at all. Mr. Torrey came out while I was in Manila. He had been home on account of sickness and has been admitted partner since my coming down here I should judge from his appearance and what I have heard from him that he was an excellent man. I think I have asked you all, not to repeat any little thing I may mention about the house or its people, for fear of its getting out to Manila and my losing my situation by it. As you say, the "temptations are neither few nor small." I am able to judge for myself between the good and the bad and choose the good, though there are but few in Manila who do. I do not mean to say I think myself *perfect* by any means. I have not attended a place of worship since I left S. F. and that was some time ago, but do not forget my God I am obliged to you for caring for my draft on you in favor of Mrs. Mullin. I had not heard of the great fire at Gloucester, it must have been tremendous. They ought to have had me at the party at the Nichols' and in the dress of a Chinaman, I could have talked some Chinese to them which I suppose W. Upham could not Yesterday afternoon I went to ride on Mr. P's pony, and meeting a mare he threw me over his head on the road. I held the rein in my hand all the time, and waited a little for him to get over his excitement and mounted him again, and I thought all was right as he trotted along nicely, but in about five minutes he ran away with me and threw me over his head again. I had the rein in my hand but it broke and he ran off a little way and turned round and looked at me. I went up to him and he looked very pleasant but I didn't believe

in getting on him again for fear the third time I might get hurt, so sent him home. I was a pretty looking object after the second fall, for my white clothes, my face and hands were all covered with dust Since I can remember anything, I never remember falling on my head, perhaps that is what has always made me so stupid. Tomorrow night we are invited to an Indian's house with *the crowd* who are generally at the Salazar's when they have a dance. It is in Deraga (e pronounced A), a town about three miles from here. We don't know whether there will be dancing but think so. If so I shall most likely have a good time if I am able to dance. Wednesday 11th. I suppose the box will not have been sent by the time this letter reaches you and I would like to have added to its contents some of Sun's (?) Anti Cholera medicine, not that I need it at present, but it is well to have such things on hand in this Country. In Manila H. writes me that a great many are dying from that trouble Don't have the flying gib wristbands put on my shirts, but straight ones, not turnover ones. Don't send any colored ones for they don't wear them here. I have much writing to do for the mail. Beside my private letters, *business* ones also. With kindest love to Uncle Stephen, Aunt Annie and the rest of the aunts and uncles, accepting a large portion for the Church St. assembly I remain as ever your loving son,

A. Kinsman

Legaspi June 13th 1864
Monday A. M.

My dear Nat,

I acknowledge the receipt of yours of 26th Jany. and 6th March in my last letter home. Yesterday I received four letters, one enclosing letters from Mother, Will, Aunts Lydia and Maria & Uncle William. Under other covers a letter from C. Rea and one from George Fabens in San Francisco. The latter tells all about my friends there and among them are cousins Geo. Chase and family. They moved some time ago he says to their Ranch, Mountain View which I think is some distance to the southard of S. F.

I read with great pleasure your journal of your Adirondacks trip and should judge from it you had a busting good time, and wish I could have gone with you but I am having a good time where I now am. It has been very hot here for the past two weeks and every one says when I meet them, "que calor," what heat. Sunday before last I went to Legon. Started from the house about five in Peirce's carriage and went as far as Camalig, with it. There I found as I expected to, our friend and customer Sor Anto Menchaca. Sent the carriage back and went on with him to Legon about eight, and staid at his house until Tuesday. He had a brother who is married and lives with him, and jolly good people they are too, and I had a very jolly time. Monday afternoon we drove on to Ors (pronounced Was) a town farther on, and visited the Padre there, at his Convent, and found him a jolly old fellow. He asked if I would like to look around and upon my saying se, yes we looked around. Everything looking very mysterious. After passing through several appartments we came to a door or rather he led the way to a door, and taking a large bunch of keys from the cord belt which they all wear he unlocked the doors and I found myself among the greatest lot of bottels that I ever saw. After we got in he shut the door and we had a glass of wine together. Another Padre was staying there that day and he staid with Menchaca in the Sala or parlor. After looking about the Convent a little more, we went back to Menchaca and his companion and soon we drove back to Legon. In the evening I played checkers with the Padre of Legon, at M's house he is another good old chap. Yesterday Sunday I went to Legon again to the christening of a Spanish baby, and did not have a good time at the house where it was, but had a pleasant call on the Menchaca's. I got a fresh pair of horses at Guinobatan going up as mine were tired and I soon wished I had taken the same ones through to L instead of getting a fresh pair, as they were the laziest beasts I ever sat behind, but they got us safely up and back, which is more than every pair of horses in the country would have done. The *Pilar* is here now loading for Iloilo a larger province town than this on another island. There

is an American or English vessel there loading Sugar and we sent three vessels there with screwed Bales only to complete our cargo. I mention the *Pilar* being here for she is favorite vessel owned by R. & S. and very seldom comes here. She is under the Spanish as are all the small vessels owned by the House in Manila. The captains are either Spanish or Indian and the Capt. of the *Pilar* is a Spaniard, and a splendid fellow. I got acquainted with him in Manila. All the province crafts have only a capt. but the P. has capt. mate and 2d mate. The P. goes to China most all the time. She is a hermaphrodite Brig only, but I tell you those on board know how to take comfort, as much as any one in a tub with three sticks. Three Sundays ago I went to Tabaco which place you have heard spoken of before in my letters, I never had been there before however. Started from here about five A.M. and got to Dayot's house about seven, and was welcomed first by his daughter Nina, and if I had not had a companion with me in the shape of a leach Spaniard who puts himself into company where he is not wanted I would have kissed her. Passed the day very pleasantly talking with her and hearing her playing the Piano. Late in the afternoon I went to walk with her father, then came home, or rather went back to his house, had a bath and dressed for dinner at seven. When I came over to my room found a young fellow there talking with Dayot, so went into the Sala where I found Nina playing the Piano, so sat down by her and looked at her. When the young chap went away she got up and asked me to go to the window with her. Her mother was at one window so we went to another at the other end of the Sala. While there she mentioned for me to stoop that she might put a necklace of flowers over my head, which I did & kissed her while she was a doing of it, not very loud for fear that her mother would hear. After dinner I played Checkers with her, and before going to bed bid them goodbye, for I knew I should leave before they were up. My companion Lothano and myself had a good four hours sleep from twelve to four, then got up had a cup of coffee and left. I exchanged a mutual bow with Nina from her chamber window, as we drove out of

the yard. I don't know whether I shall go to Tabaco this afternoon or not, if I go, it will be with the Capt. of the *Pilar*. Tuesday morning 14th. I am going to Iloilo in the *Pilar* to return in her when she comes back here which will be in two weeks. Peirce had thought of going but thinks it best not to, and wants me to go in his place. I expect to have a first rate time and learn a lot of Spanish. That is the chief reason Peirce wants me to go. I have put off from day to day writing the letters I have promised, and now can't do it, for I am off very pronto. I leave off writing sadly conscious that this is a very poor sort of a letter, having had three weeks to write it as this week's mail from here will probably catch the Manila mail for H. K. Give my love to all the Church Street family, mother, Will and the rest. Also my Uncles, Aunts and cousins. Ask W. to make some kind of an excuse to Cad and Lizzie Perkins for me for not writing, and you please tell Charley Rea that I received his letter and photograph and am much obliged for them and will answer as soon as I can. Remember me to the room chaps; those of them whom I know Gus Frye and Co. Now Nat I will close having made out to fill the sheet, but do not know whether what I have written will interest you or not. But hope so. Had a dance at Salazars last night.

Your loving brother
A. Kinsman

LETTER RELATING TO ABBOT'S DEATH

Per Mail from Manila August 6th Lagaspi, July 23, 1864
Wm. L. Kinsman Esqr.¹⁸
Salem, U S A

Dear Sir:

It is my painful duty to address you about your brother Abbott's death; presuming that you will have heard of it from Manila by the mail previous to that bearing this, as from Ylo Ylo the intelligence should have reached Manila about the time that I received it, a week ago. He left here on the 15th ulto. in the *Pilar*, a Spanish brig that I dispatched for Ylo Ylo and that would return here: the

18 Abbot's oldest brother, William Low Kinsman.

Captain and chief officer had both pleased Abbott and myself, and the former was a friend of mine. It was proposed that Abbott should make the trip which would afford him a pleasant variety and an opportunity to see an interesting district and excellent & varied practice in Spanish. Since he had been here (Feby. 19) his time had been mostly devoted to studying Spanish, though he had begun to assist me in business (to the extent that I missed him considerably as the weeks of his absence lengthened) and I was especially solicitous that he should become familiar with it; and this was the chief inducement to me in consenting to his absence. The brig arrived at Ylo Ylo on the 28th. Abbott was well and contented on board and at Ylo Ylo. He stayed at the house of Mr. Edward Jackson (an Englishman who represents there Messrs Russell & Sturgis, and from Mr. J. as well as from Capt'n Machado (of the *Pilar*), I have particulars of his illness Cholera was prevalent at Ylo Ylo but less so than in the neighboring towns: we, of course, did not know this when the *Pilar* sailed. Abbott was taken very ill on the morning of the 4th inst. (and died about three o'clock the same day.) Capt'n Machado tells me that the two resident doctors attended him, and that one especially is a very able physician I am confident that he had all the assistance possible at Ylo Ylo both from Mr. Jackson & his household & from the physicians. He was buried the same night in the ground next to the Roman Catholic Cemetery, which Capt'n M. tells me is decently enclosed and set apart for protestant burials, several interments having been made there before. The funeral service was read by Mr. W. B. Loring (of Boston) American Vice Consul at Ylo Ylo and in the employ of Messrs R. & S there.

These are sad tidings, dear Mr. Kinsman Abbott loved you all very much & retained his fondness for home & home friends: his chief delight was to receive and answer your letters. He was gentle and pure in mind and heart, & enlisted the friendship of those about him I should have had great pleasure in seeing & shaping his progress, and his last month here had promised well. We

were the only Americans here, but the Spaniards resident through these towns always welcomed him kindly, & expressed much regret at his early & painful death. In his album are the pictures of a few of these; among them those of two Madrid ladies resident near us at whose house we were frequent visitors together. Abbott was so true & innocent of heart, so firm in his adherence to right, & cherished so highly the good lessons he had bro't from home, that we are justified in thinking that, had his life been spared, it would have been a worthy one, and that, as it has pleased God to take him from earth, & to bereave his family, he was fit for the great change & is happy now. . . . Abbott and myself had lived pleasantly together & had many interests in common, and I would bear an affectionate testimony to his worth.

Faithfully & truly yours,
Geo. H. Peirce

Wm. D. Huntington wrote: Apart from the grief the death of a friend so respected and dear would cause me, the thought that I am the one by whose advice he came here to commence a career which although to all appearances promised so well, has ended so sadly, is still more racking, but nothing could have been more unforeseen and I trust *my* action under the circumstances may still be approved by you all. Abbot during his short residence here by his pleasant and gentlemanly manners and cheerful disposition made many friends for him. In Albay, where we were together some two months the same thing I noticed, that although not being able at first to converse much, still by his open and pleasant face he drew many toward him who became afterwards his warm friends.

The following poem was written by John Greenleaf Whittier in memory of Abbot Kinsman:

KINSMAN

Where ceaseless Spring her garland twines,
As sweetly shall the loved one rest,
As if beneath the whispering pines
And maple shadows of the West.

Ye mourn, O hearts of home! for him,
But, haply, mourn ye not alone;
For him shall far-off eyes be dim,
And pity speak in tongues unknown.

There needs no graven line to give
The story of his blameless youth;
All hearts shall throb intuitive,
And nature guess the simple truth.

The very meaning of his name
Shall many a tender tribute win;
The stranger own his sacred claim,
And all the world shall be his kin.

And there, as here, on main and isle,
The dews of holy peace shall fall,
The same sweet heavens above him smile,
And God's dear love be over all!

BYFIELD PARISH RECORDS
OCTOBER 29, 1706—MARCH 2, 1762

FOREWORD

The Byfield Parish Church, gathered 1702, located in the South Byfield section of Newbury, Massachusetts, celebrated its 250th Anniversary in May 1952. As part of that celebration a committee was appointed to arrange an exhibit of documents pertaining to the history of the church. In an old safe, beneath some newspapers which had been used as a protective mat, they found an early record book of the Byfield Parish Church. (Byfield Parish is comprised of parts of the towns of Newbury, Rowley and Georgetown.)

This is a record of the Parish meetings. It is the only available record concerning the early beginnings of the church. The church record of this era was probably destroyed by fire.

We have tried, in transmitting this record from the book to these pages, to keep the same spelling, grammatical construction of sentences and omissions of punctuation that appear in the original. There are a few words which we still are not certain of in the original; these we have recorded as we thought they should be.

There are times when this record may seem dull and repetitious, but that is because so few of us have to be so personally concerned with the administration, finance and theology of our local churches. The men and women in these pages built a church and maintained it through difficult times because of a deep conviction and a great deal of common sense.

Mrs. William Chester Dunn and Reverend Robert Gordon Morris, of Rowley, and Mr. Edward Leigh Brown, of Newbury, worked together on this project of preparing the old Parish Records for publication. We are grateful to the Essex Institute for its interest in our church in publishing these early records.

PARISH RECORDS

29th october 1706 at a leagal meeting of the inhabitants of the falls & the neighbourhood united together thear for the seting up & maintaining the ministry of the gospel thear, it was then confirmed by a leagal unanimos voat upon the afirmatif that we doe & shal freelye unite as one people for the seting up & constant maintaining the ministrye of the gospil among us in this place being orderly dismist from both townes & churches to which we did belong namely newbery and rowley — also at the same meeting ye day and yeare above writen the 29th of october 1706 it was then confirmed, by a legall unaminos voat, leiutenant william moodye being chosen moderator for this meeting abovesed, it was then voated and confirmed that we stand to that agrement we said companty made with our minister mr moses hale¹ on the fifth day of november in the year 1705 namely, incorig him by giving him fiftye pownds or in money at ore before the end of the five years after the above said date of agrement, also if the abovsed mr hale do live and carie on the work of the ministry among us at the end of fiftene years after the date abovsed to paye him fiftye pownds more as a gratuitye

also at the same meting above writen it was then agreed on & confirmed by a unanimos voat thos famalyes latly aded to our society, namly john thorlo edmond goodridg & john noyse, ore any others that shal be aded ither from newbery ore rowley shal have as good a right as any of the bulders ore proprietors propertianable to what they shal anualye paye toward the maintainans of the ministry hear in this plase

15 of march 1707/8 at a meeting of the inhabitanc of ye falls belonging to the meting hous thear being legally met together, john cheney was chos ye modrator. at ye same meting John Smith² was chosen cleark for ye year insuing, it was then agreed on by a voat the asesors colectors shall sarve in theyr places gratis without wages for theyr servis. Jonathan wheler was at ye same meting chose to sarve as an asesor for ye year insuing. John

¹ Reverend Mr. Hale, the first minister, served until his death, January 12, 1743.

² The first clerk served in this capacity for over ten years.

wicom was chos ye 2d asesor, Nathan wheler ye 3d, mr James chut ye 4, mr richard dumer chos the 5th. also for colectors was chos david woodman & richard bointon to gather mr hals salerey for ye year insuing (march 21 1708-9, mr hale our minister at ye falls gave in to ye company by ebenezzer a full resete of his salerey it was sixty pound for ye year 1707)

at a legell meting of the inhabitanc at the falls decon broelbank beink modrater chos for this meting on ye 22d of march 1707/8, it was then tried by a voat whither the company wer wiling to plant an orchard of one hundred aple trees for ye use of ye ministry upon the parsonag land & it was a clear voat on the afermative that it shall be don this spring upon the company cost also to fen said ortcherd with a sufisient fenc for the security of the trees with a five rail fenc, also the asesors for ye year insuing weare by a voat improwred to agree with som men to fenc ye ortcherd & to leve a rate for the paieng ye men agred with for thayre labor

at the meting on march 15 1707/8 the asesors then chos for ye year insuing were impowered by the companie by a voat to call the inhabits togethe to warn metings upon all nesesity ocasions

at a meting of ye inhabitants belonging to the meting house at the falls being legaly warnd leiut wiliam moody being chosen modrator for said meting it was then voated & pased on the afirmatif that the colectors shal forth with warne all yt are behind in paieng theyr dues to mr hales salerey ye last yeare ye yeare 1707, this meting being on 15th of june 1708, to cleare thayr account with mr hale & if any person shal refuse or neglect that is behind in thayr dutye till the 29th of this instant june, thayr names shal be reternd to the respective counstables to which thay do belong

at the same meting as above on the 15th of june 1708 it was agreed by a voat that mr hale shal be paied one quarter part of his salerey in money

at this meting on ye other page on the 15th of june 1708 it was then concluded on it being formerly agreed on by the inhabitancs belonging to the meting hous at the falls that

every man for himself shal and doe grant liberty for away throw his land for passing to and from meting whear it is most convenient and least damig to the owner, also if need be to suply with gates whear is need, and for the true performanc herof we bind our selvs and our heirs by seting to our hands

Samuel Brocklebank	Wiliam Moodye
Beniamun Plumer	John Dumer
John Broune	Nathaniel Dummer
Ebenezer Stuert	Richard Dummer
Andrew Stickny	Cotten Frazer
John Haselton	Elizabeth Woodman
Peter Cheney	Abraham Adams Junier
Josiah Wood	Joseph Garish
John Smith	John Thurlo
James Chut	Benjamin Person
Richard Boynton	Nathan Wheller
Robert Mingo ³	John Cheney
	Thomas Coalman
	Stephen Longfelow
	Jonathan Wheler

at a meting of ye inhabitants of ye falls 18th october 1708, Jonathan wheler being chos modrator for sed meting, it was then agred on by a unanimos voat on ye afermative yt upon ye companys cost we empowre our asesors chose for this year to agree with a man or men in convenient time to dig & finish a well for mr hale by ye old won & bring in an honist acount of ye cost yt it may be levied in a rate yt said man ore men may be honistly paid

at a meting of ye inhabitants belonging to ye meting hous at ye falls being legaly warned on ye 26th of october 1708 lieut wiliam moodye being chosen modrator for said meting it was then agreed on by unanimos voat that we dig ston & finish a well sufisiantly for ye use of ye ministry upon ye companys cost & also by ye same voat we agreed with andrew sticknye to dig & finish said well to answer ye end to supply mr hales famaly with water when ye other well fails & said stickny is to be paid by ye company ye

3 A Negro.

sume of four pounds for his labor as money & to be levid & gathred in mr hales rate

at ye same meting 26 of october 1708 for ye incorigment of mr hales contribution it was then agred on by a voat that ye three seats before the pulpit shal be cutt off at ye east end so as for persons to have an alye to pass to com to ye contrabution, also that beniamon plumer have liberty to cut said seats for said alye provided he do it & finish it compleatly upon his own cost & said alye not to exed two foots in bredth

at a legal meting of ye company belonging to ye falls the 21 of march 1708/9 Jonathan wheller being chos to sarve as a modrator for this meting: at said meting, John Smith was by a voat chosen as a clark for ye insuing yeare. at ye meting abovesed, were chosen for asesors for this year 1709 John Brown ye first, decon wiliam moodye chos ye 2d, philip goodridg chos ye 3d, decon broclbank chos ye 4th, Joshua bointon chos ye 5th asesor. also andrew stickny & thomas coalman wear chosen to sarve as colectors for this year to gather mr hales sallerey

at ye abovesed meting Jerimiah Poore, John Brocklebank, Ichabod Cheney, Stephen Plumer, Samuel Plumer, Josiah Smith, Samuel Goodridg, James Chutt petitned for liberty to buld up the back seat in the front galery on ye south sid of ye meting hour on thayr own charg & for thayr own personal benifit, but not to convay said seat or thayr intrest to any others, & it was voated & pased for them & it was granted to them provided they dont damnify the light of ye windows

also the abovesed asesors were impowrd to repaire the meting hous & bring in an honist account of the cost & also ther was a voat past & granted that our colectors shal be alowed 4d upon the pound for thayr pains for gathring mr hales rate for ye 2 last years & so to continue ye companys plesur

at a meting of ye inhabitants of ye falls, decon moody was chosen modrator for ye meting on ye 30th of november 1709, it was then agreed on by a legall voat that mr hales salerey shal be levid & raised by the last invoye taken in

general. peter cheney desired to enter his desent against this voat above writ

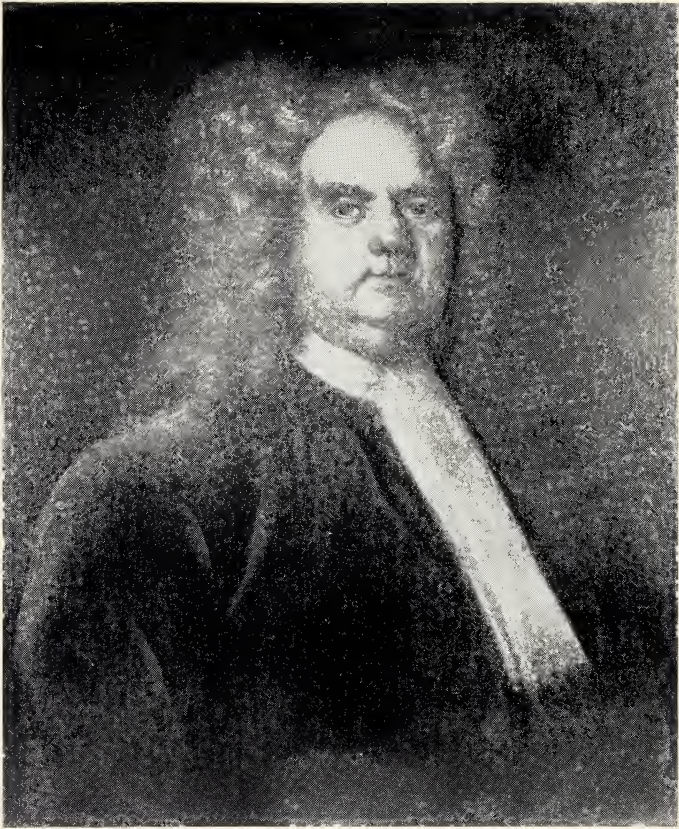
at a legall meting of ye inhabitants belong to the meting hous at newbery falls the 22d of march 1710 dekon broclbank being chosen modrator for said meting: at which meting John Smith was chosen cleark for the year insewing: capt richard walker was chos the first asesor for the insuing year. joseph goodridg was chos the second, john cheney was chos the third, maxamilian jewet was chos the fourth, jonathan heriman was chos the fifth

at this abovsed meting ther were chosen as a comity mr john dumer, john brown & john noyse to inquire into ye paieng of mr hales salery for ye year 1708 of the asesors & colectors, for mr hale demands fourty shilings yt he wants of his salery of yt yeare 1708 & also to se after what have ben over paid in ye yeare 1707, & as soone as they can bring report of what they find to ye company. it was also agreed on by a clear voat that ye company are wiling to buy for ye use of the ministry a part of that tract of land formerly belonging to samuel wood of rouley desesed ore to his son thomas

at the meting mentioned on the other side of this leaf 22nd of march 1710 it was then voated whether the company were freely wiling to buy a sertin tract of land of about twenty acors for the use of the ministry & it past by a clear voat on the afirmatif yt said land was formerly belongin to samuel wood late of rouley desesed & sinc belonging to his son thomas wood

at a legale meting of the inhabitants belonging to newbery fals on the 12th of maye 1710 dekon wiliam moodye being chosen modrator for sed metin, it was then voated for to raise sixty three pounds to paye for the land we are buieng for the use of the ministry heare & to raise said money by the same rule we raise our ministers salery by, to pay fourty pounds of said money at ore before the first of november next, and twenty three pounds in the spring folowing at ore before the midle of april next insuing, also to paye intrest for the twenty three pounds alredy paid & said voat was past in the afermatif

at the meting in the other page, 12 of may 1710 dec



JUDGE NATHANIEL BYFIELD

From an oil portrait by John Smibert

Loaned to the Essex Institute by the Byfield Parish

wiliam moody petetiond for a place on the left hand going into ye meting house at the front dore for to build a pew for the conveniency of his famalyes siting at meting & it was granted him by a unanimos voat. allso mr abraham adams petetiand for ye vakent plac at ye east end of mr john dumers pewe for to buld up a pewe for his famaly to sit in & it was granted him by a unanimos voat

also thos whose names are hear under named petetianed for the vacancy in the back part of the east galerey to buld them up a seat for thayr convenient siting at meting & it was granted them by a unanimos voat. thayr names are as foloweth: sarah woodman abigal poore sarah wikam anne cheney abigal brown anne plumer sarah smith abigal person sarah wheler hanah phrazer sarah wheler martha chut hanah smith mary pore sarah person mary thorlo hanah bointon margaret wood. thes pews are all only for thos persons own use & when they leave them to be at the companys dispose

at a legal meting of the inhabitants of this presinct comonly called byefeild,⁴ which meting is by order of the general court on the 7 of november 1710 decon moody was chos modrator for sed meting. John Smith was chosen clark. joseph goodridg was chos first an asesor for this year. sergant jonathan heirman the 2d asesor. capt. richard walker was chos the 3d asesor. john cheney the 4th & maximilon jewet the 5th. also philip goodridg was chosen a colector, also jonathan wheler was ye 2d colector

at this meting abovsed 7 november 1710 it was then tried by a voat & confirmed by a voat clearly that the company are agred to buy the land formerly agred on by the company to buy for the use of the ministry heare, said land lieth joyning to our former pasonag & twas also agred on by a voat that this adition to our pasonag shal be for the use of the ministry forever heare. there was then chosen cotin frazor & andrew stickny to have the oversite of the

4 Heretofore "Newbury Falls." Inhabitants of the Parish in 1703 had decided to call the place "Byfield" in honor of Col. Nathaniel Byfield of Boston. (The original portrait of Judge Byfield by John Smibert, owned by the Parish, is at the Essex Institute on loan.)

wood & timber of the pasonag land that thear be no imprudent wast made thearof

ye asesors instroctions, to levie & ases on all the inhabitants of this presinct the sum of sixty pounds for mr hales salery, also sixty three pounds for to paye for the land lately purchast for the use of the ministry, also this mony is to be levied by the old invoye. also to take care of the meting house to repaire it & also to take of the pasonag ortonchard fenc & at ye years end to bring in a true acoant & then shal be paid

also at the meting on the other side of the leaf it was agreed on by a voat pased on the afirmatif that the money to be raized & paied for the land bought for the use of the ministry by the company is to be paied at ore before the seventh of desember insuing

at a legal meting of the inhabitants of byfeild the first of desember 1710, beniamun pearson was chos modrator for ye present meting. at this meting it was agreed on & confirmed by a cleare voat that our colectors shal deliver the mony now gathring to paye for the land parchast latly for the use of the ministry in this place to decon wil moodye & to beniamun plumer for that end & take a reseipt of them for the monye they deliver

at the same meting above thear was chosen josepoph goodridg & beniamun plumer to suckseed cotin frazer & andrew stickny to have the oversight of the wood & timber on the pasonag land & se that ther be no imprudent wast made of the same

also it was agreed on by a voat that our asesors shal & are impowrd to warn our inhabitants to gether upon nesisery acashons & that it shal be accounted legall for them to give warning by a noatification in writing at the meting house dore fastned up. also it was agreed on by a voat that mr james chut shal have twenty shiling for sweping the meting house once a fortnight & ringing the bell⁵ dulye for this yeare

at a meting legally warnd of the inhabitants of byfeild ye sixth march 1711 decon wil moody being chosen modra-

5 Given by Judge Byfield, for whom the Parish was named, said to weigh 226 pounds, and used for more than a century.

tor for sd meting, John Smith was chosen cleark for ye year insuing, mr john dumer was chosen the first asesor, henerye poore was chos ye 2d asesor, mr henerey sewall was chos the 3d asesor, maximilion jewet was chose the 4th asesor, john cheney was chosen the fifth asesor. for colectors joshua boynton juner was chos the first colector & ebenezer brown was chos the 2d colector

at this meting abovsed it was agred on & confirmed by a voat that we give our colectors five shilings apeic anually for theyr servis a yeare & also that we give our clerk ten shilings a year for his pains & troble

also joseph goodridg & nathan wheller weare chosen as a comitye to take care about som former remainders of mr hales salerey and cleare up what thay can, and bring the names of all yt are behind in paying theyr dues and the sums that is behind in paieng theyr dues and the sums that is behind due to mr hale at our next meting

allso mr john dumer & john brown weare made choyc of by a voat to procure a substancial bill of sale mad to the whol company of byfeild this precinct of the land lately purchast for the use of the ministry by decon moody, joshua bointon, john wikon & beniamun plumer bought for the company hear

it was at the meting on the other page 6 of march 1710/11 agred on by a voat that our meting hous shal be seated. also it was agreed on by a voat that the contrabution for mr hale shal be onc every quarter in the yeare

a comity was also chosen to seat the meting hous, the first was capt richard walker 2 beniamun plumer 3 beniamun person 4 jonathan wheler, the 5th joshua bointon, ye 6 henery poore, ye 7th john noyse. it was agred on by a voat that they shal honistly place the meting house by these rules folowing. 1 to have respect to age. 2 by what men paye for the suport of the worship of god & 3 by what they have disbusted for the seting up the worship of god in this place

thear was also a petetion granted by a voat for liberty to buld up the vakency in the back seat in the west galery upon theyr own cost for theyr use, but not to convey ore sell it but if they remove out of it then it shal return to

the dispose of the company, & if by theyr moving by opening casements and carles leaving them open they shall repaire it upon theyr own cost. the petetionary names are as foloweth: jonathan wheller, thomas plumer, henery poore, jonathan danford, daniel jewet, ebenezer bointon, lional chutt, john adams, ebenezer ayer, john bointon juner, john homes & samuel brown

at the same meting on the other sid 6 march 1710/11 twas agreed on by a voat confirmed that our comity for placing the meting house shall place what young women they think meet in the back seat in the east galerey & give them the offer of building it upon theyr own cost & enjoy it as others doe there that have seats granted them

at a meting of the inhabitants of Byfeild on the 27th of march 1711 it was agreed on by a voat decon moody being modrator that our asesors are & shall be impowrd to agree with som man or men to fence our pasonag orchard with a sufisient fence whear ther is not alredy a fine rail fence

at a leagal meting of the inhabitants of Byfeild on the 16th of october 1711, Nathan Wheler was chosen modrater for said meting. it was confirmd by a voat that the nesesity charges lately arisen for fencing mr hales orchard & repairing the meting house & also foure pounds due formerly to mr hale, our asesors are impowred by the company to put it in to mr hales rate to be gathered.

at ye meting in ye other side it was voated on ye affirmative that our asesors for this year shall mak the rate by the same rule that the previus rate is raised and made

also our present asesors weare impowred by the company at this meting by a voat to call the colectors to account for the over plus money the last year 1710 and all that is over-plus the asesors are to improve sed monye to help to pay the companis nesisery debts

also at the same meting several showing theyr desire for liberty for to build up the vacancy behind mr hales pewe & the hind seats to the aleys for the conveniency of theyr wives siting in the meting house, and it was granted them by a voat unanimos, as the other pews wear granted. the names of the persons are as follow, namely. sargt jonathan herimon, capt richard walker, cotin frazer, ebenezer brown,



OLD PARSONAGE HOUSE, BYFIELD PARISH
Built in 1703

From "Ould Newbury," by John James Currier

maximilion jewet, philip goodridg, richard bointon, john spafferd

at a meting 18 of march 1711/12 being informed that thre of the above petitioners for roome for to build a pew refused to accept, namly capt richard walker, philip goodridg & cotin frazer, in whos room weare aded by a voat 3 more, namly john noyse, thomas coalman & daniel jewet

18 march 1711/12 ebenezzer brown to sarve as an asesor, daniel jewet was chosen in his roome. also ephaim brown at sed metin chos a colector, refusing to sarve, Isack adams was chos to sarve as a colector in his room

at a leagaly warnd meting of the inhabitants of Byfeild on the 18th of march 1711/12 dec moodye being chosen modrator for said meeting, there was then John Smith chosen a cleark for this year insuing, also for asesors mr john dumer, a 2d john spaford, a 3d chosen is john noyse, a 4th chosen is ebenezzer brown ye 5th is capt richard walker. For the first colector nathan wheeller was chosen, the 2d chosen was ephriam browne. at this abovsed meting upon mr hales request to the company of this presinct to exchang an acker of land, said land mr john dumer gave to mr hale, for an acker of the pasonag land lieng at the north end of cotin frazers land along by the brook on the east by thomas coalmans land & being put to voat it was redily granted. also thear was chosen as a comity to lay out said ackor of land to mr hale, & also to give & take a bill of sale for both parsels of land namly mr john dumer & cotin frazer and john smith

at the same meting it was agreed on by a unanimos voat on the afirmatif that we pay that fifty pounds first promised to mr hale by the company this insuing year namlye 1712 & that our asesors are impowred to lay it in the next rate with mr hales salery

also at the meting on the other side of this leaf 18 of march 1711/12 mr james chut was agreed with to swep the meting house and keep it clean as it ought to be kept and seasonably to ring the bell all the year insuing namly 1712, and for so doing he has given him by a voat for his paines thirty shiling at the end of the year

also ye asors weare impowred by a voat to take care of

the meting house to repaire it whear it is needful to be mended & procure a good rope for the bell & fit it onn, & raise mony to defray the charg

also a comity was chosen, a comity of thre men, namly mr john dumer & philip goodridg & john smith to take care about som land that cotin frazer laid downe by mr hales house for the conveniency of the pasonag house and way and to mesur it & lay him out as much for it in the most convenient place in the south end of the pasonig land

at a meting of the inhabitants of Byfeild being legally warned on the 3d of march 1712/13, at sd meting beniamun person was chos modarator and John Smith was chosen cleark for the year 1713. Mr. Joseph Gearish was chos the first asesor for the year ensuing, the 2d chos asesor was ebinezer brown, the 3d chos was philip goodridg, the 4th chosen was beniamin plumer, the 5th chosen was beniamin person. also for colectors ther was chos, 1 was beniamin plumer junior, the 2d chosen was john goodridg

at this meting abovsed upon the request of mr richard dumer to have liberty granted by the inhabitants of this presinct for to buld a pewe in the meting house for his & his familys comfortable siting in the meting house, and it was redily granted him by a clear voat, namely at the east end of the meting house on the right hand going in at the east dore, the one half of the hinde seat and the vakency in the north east corner of the house below next the dore, also the colectors that have bene for the time past bene imployed to colect & gather the monye that have ben raised in this presinct ither for the ministry, ore for other expenses are by a voat required to bring in unto the present asesors all the mony that is overplus besides paying what they weare ordred to paye for the benifit of the companye

at the meting on the other side of the leaf the company heare agreed and confirmed by a voat to pay to John Smith this year one pound fivetene shiling out of the overplus monye coming from the colectors as part of what the company wear indeted to him, which said Smith accept as ful of what the company are indebted to me except twelve

shiling & six pen for work said Smith did on mr hales closet

also it was confirmed by a voat that in order to raising mr hales salery that the asesors shal tak an invoys of every man in order therto sometime in august, also our asesors wear impowred by a clear voat to agree with som person to swep the meting house & keep it clean & desent and rais mony to pay him for his paines

also ebenezzer stuerd and thomas coalman weare chosen and impowred by a voat to take care of the wood & timber on the pasonag land & se thear be no wast made thearof, and prosicute anye person that shal be fownd so doing

at a meting of the inhabitants of Byefield leagaly warnd & convened together on the 2d of march 1713/14 decon samuel broclebank was chos modrator for sed meting, John Smith was chosen cleark for the yeare insuing 1714. Isack adams chos the first asesor for the year insuing, John che-ney ye 2d asesor, cotin frazer the 3d asesor, ephriam browne the 4th asesor, thomas coalman the 5th asesor. for colectors, 1 mr Steven Longfellow, ebenezor brown the 2d collector

at this abovesed meting 2 march 1714 the company agreed & confirmed by a voat to give mr hale for his salery seventy three pounds anually for five years from this second of march 1714 til the five years are expired. twas voated that this 73 pounds shal be paied the one half in mony & the other half as monye

several personsons at this metin petitioned for liberty to buld them seats in the hind seats, namly in the southwest corner of ye meting hous, next to the mens stairs, also in the north east corner of the meting house namely that in the south west corner was granted to mr joseph gerish and that in the north east corner was granted to beniamun plumer, isack adams, thomas plumer and john adams, building them on theyr own cost, on the same conditions the other pews were built, that in the north east corner is intenden only for theyr wives

at the meting on the other side of the leaf 2d march 1714, andrew stikny was agreed with to swep the meting hous, for the year insuing 1714, and for his doing it he

had granted him by a voat twenty shiling for his pains

at a meting of the parish of Byfeild the 16th day of march 1714 mr jonathan wheler was chosen to serve this meting as modarator, our present asesors in theyr instroctions were impowred by a voat to call the last year colectors to acount as to the mony comited to them to colect & gather and if ther be any overplus to resaive it for the benifit of the companye, also to repair the meting hous when need also to call ye company together on needful acashuns also to buy a book for the companys use to keep a record of thayr publick actions

at sed meting ye company agreed by a voat to bye a sertin tract of land of Mr John Dumer lieng within our hom pasonig pasture joyning on sed Dumers land, the wholl of Mr Dumers intrest lieng on the south side of the fenc between the pasonag land & sed Dumers land

also at sed meting the company gave sevrall persons part of theyr rates, namly john thorlo nine shilings, joseph goodridg junior eight shilings, Steven Carrnick 12 shilings, John Danford 4 shilings

at sed meting an agrement made & confirmed by a voat with sargt beniamun plumer to make a ston wall between Mr John Dumers land & our pasonag land from the great brook up to the gate caled woodmans gate which amounts to thirty roods, and for his doing said work the company promist to give said plumer ten pounds, namly five pownds this yeare which we impower our asesors to raise this present year 1714 & five pounds the next year, the wholl ten pounds. ye one half of the wal said plumer is to buld this sumer

also a comity was chosen to run the line between Mr John Dumer and the pasonag land latly purchast and also to run the line between John Smith & the pasonag land, namly beniamun person and ebenezzer stuerd and isack adams, also thay are impowred to mesure the fenc between the pasonag land and the land adjoynining and to repair the fenc belonging to the pasonag and agre with any man or men to mak and repair sed fenc and keep and bring in an honest account of ye chargs to the asesors and the cost to be put in a rate, also a comity of two men were chosen

to peruse an account between joshua bointon juner and the parish⁶ of Byfeild, & mak retorn thereof of theyr doing to the company next meting

also at the same metin, upon the request and petetion of sevrall persons for liberty to buld the 3d seat in the northeast corner of the meting hous the next seat to the former grant to mr richard dumer, for theyr wives to sit in & it was granted them by a voat provided they dont by raising it to high damnify the seat before granted & to buld it on thayr own cost & on the same terms the other seats were granted. the petetioners are as folow, philip goodridg, edmund goodridg, david woodmon, joshua bointon juner, beniamon woodmon, cotin frazer samuel dicken-son jonathan spaford

a meting of ye inhabitants of ye presinct of byfeild being leagaly convend and met on the 23 of jewn 1714, cotin frazer was chosen modrator for said meting

at this abovesed meting it was agreed on by a voat to chos two men, namly sargt john cheney and ebenezzer stuerd to petetion the towns whenc our presinct wear drawn, namely newbery & rouly for to grant unto us convenient ways for our convenient coming to our meting hous upon thayr respective towns charg, & if the towns refuse so to doe, we impowre them to petetion our nex county court to be holden at salim on the nex week the 29th of this instant june 1714, but if our respective towns do incorrig the doing of this kindnes then to prosed no farther

at ye meting abovesed our asesors weare impowred by a voat on the afermative to agree with a man or men to buld up the vaconsis in the hind seats in ye east & west galeris in our meting hous with convenient seats for the benifit of the company and put the cost into the rate for defraying the charg

at the meting on the other sid of this leif 23 of june 1714 mr abraham adams & mr maxmilian jewet wear impowred by a voat on the afirmative to agree with mr james chut for about half an ackor of land and buy it for the benefit of the company whear thay shal think it most benifisial for the good of the company.

6 This is the first reference to the "parish."

also at said meting our present asesors wear impowered by a voat on the afermative to call the last year colectors to account as to ye overplus monye yet in thayr hands undisposed of and reseve it of them and dispose of it for the good and benifit of the company or to pay thayr honist debts

at the same meting abovsed it was agred on and confirmed by a voat on the afirmative to chuse two men and they wear chosen, namly sergt john cheney & ebenezzer steward to petetion the selectmen in & of each town respectively from which our presinct was drawn, namly newbery and roulve, to call our respective towns together for theyr granting unto us ways whear is nesery for our coming to meting and also for other nesecrye ocashons, upon the respective charges of sed towns, and if they incorig the doing of it to presed no farther, but if the select men of sed towns refuse the doing of it, ore dont incorig the doing it for us then we request and impowre those abovsed men to petetion the next county court to be held at salim the next week ye 29 day of this instant june 1714 for releif in this mater

at a legal meting of the presinct of byfeild on ye 5th of august 1714, deckon moody was chos modrator for said meting. thear wear chosen by a clear voat for our present asesors to impower them to take the care to hang our bell⁷ if thay find that it may be well and safly hung in the terot to hang it thear as soone as may be with convenancy and provid a good rope to ring it withall & to raise monye to defray the charge of the doing of ye same, & if thay find it cannot be safly hung in the teret to hang it som other way to answer the end the bell is for

also at the same meting thes men formerly mad choyc of by a voat, to treat & petetion the selectmen of each town, namly newbury and roulv, to call the respectif towns together to grant us high ways to our meting house and for other nesisery ocashons namly sergt john cheney & ebenezzer steward we have agen impowred & do request them to petetion sed selectmen of each town as abovsed & if thay still

7 The same bell previously given by Judge Byfield.

refuse the doing the same then to prosicut the cause at ye court ore courts to efect

at a meting of the inhabitants of byefeld leagaly convend the 9th of november 1714 dekon moody was chose moderator for sed meting. at sed meting it was agred on by a voat on the afermative to impower our asesors to agre with a man ore men to dig a new well ore dig out the old one, so as to suplye mr hale with water. also the presinct agred by a voat to buld another seat in the front of the bodeye and to buld a table between the two pewe seats upon the pre-sincts cost

at a meting of the presinct of buifeild the 12th of january 1714/15, beniamun person was chosen to serve as a modrator. the peopl agred by a voat to chuse five able men a comity to plac our meting hous. mr john brown was chos the first man for said comity, mr nathan wheler the 2d chosen, mr henery poore was chosen the 3d, mr john noyse ye 4th, deckon brocklbank the 5th, mr beniamun person voated in ye 5th in the roome of nathan wheler. for this comity for thayr instructions in the work of plac-ing the meting house is as folow. thay shall first go by the three last rates to our ministry, 2d to have respect to age, 3d to go by what men do anually paye to the suport of the ministry among us. this above written was confirmed by a voat 12 january in ye year 1714/15

at a meting of the inhabitants of byefeild legaly konvend together on the first of march 1715, dekon moody was chosen modrator for sed meting, & john smith was chosen cleark for the year insuing 1715

dekon moody chos the first asesor, edmond goodridg chose the 2d asesor, jonathan wheler chos the 3d asesor, richard bointon was chosen the 4th asesor, david woodman was chosen the 5th asesor. for colectors mr abraham adams was chos ye first, samuel dickonson was chosen the 2d collector

at ye meting aforsed, 1 march 1715, it was confirmed by a voat that our asesors shal, rais the monye to defray the charges arising on the account of suing for highway for our convenisi to com to meting & other convensis, & for in-stroctions given them, thay are impowred to call ye com-

pany together when need be, also to repaire our meting house whar is need

also thear was granted by a voat at sed metin that our present asesors shal raise in the next asesment four pounds & five shilings for joshua bointon junir, which said bointon taks in full satisfaction for what is behind toward his bulding mr hales barne

also decken moody was aded to thos two men we impowred to recover for our conveniancy high ways to meting hous ore any other conveniancy, to asist in the prosicuting the mater to efect.

also our asesors wear impowred to agree with a man to swep the meting & keep it desently & ring the bell in season at all times

also at ye meting abovsed 1 march 1715 a petetion being presented to ye presinct by sevral young persons for liberty to buld them a seat in the southeast corner of the meting hous over the womens stairs it was granted to them. the petetioners are as folow namly, dorothea smith, rebekah stickney, elizabeth felt, mary wheler, mary wood, hanah jewet, hanah chut, mary goodridg

also at the same meting the asesors weare impowred by a voat to hire men to repaire mr hales fences whear ther is need, & raise monye to defray the charg of thayr labour

at sed metin edmond goodridg gave up his intrest yt was formerly granted to him by a voat in ye 3d seat in ye womens pewes in ye norwes corner

at a meting of the inhabitants of biefield ye 6th march 1715/16 being leagely meet together deckon moody was chosen modrator for said meting & john smith was chosen cleark for ye year insuing. dekon brocklebank chos ye first asesor for ye year insuing, mr richard dumer ye 2d, sergeant benimon plumer chos ye 3d, mr joseph hale chos ye 4th asesor, merchant jonathan wheler ye 5th asesor. mr joseph gearish chos ye first colector for ye year insuing. Jonathan Spaford was chose to serve an asesor for ye year insuing

at said meting the inhabitants of byefeild by a voat freely gave an highway throw the parsonag land from john smiths land down as the rhoad go down to mr dumers gate

over the brook & also by the ston wall to ye end of said parsonag land by said ston wall. said rhoad is to be one rood & half wide for passing & repasing provided people are carful to shut gates where is need

also at said meting the inhabitants of buifeild by a voat aded to mr hales salery ten pounds which mak his salery four scoar and three pounds

at sed meting was granted by a voat to paye toward giving for the highways out of the last asesment 1715 to ebenezzer stuerd five pounds, to sergt john cheney fifty shilings & to dekon moody ten shiling

also our asesors weare improwred to take care to repair mr hales fences also to repaire the meting house and agree with som man to swep the meting hous & keep it clean & desent, also to ring the bell in season upon needful acashons & rais the mony to defray the charges in ye next asesment

at a meting of ye inhabitants of byfeild ye 24 of desember 1716 (mr beniamun person was chos modrator sed meting) ocashoned by mr joseph gearishs refusing to serve as a colector, at sed meting mr thomas coalmon was chosen to serve in his rooms for the colecting & gathring nubery part of the presant salery for mr hale

at sed meting was chos sergont plumber & clerk john smith to discours our neighbors that constantly com to our meting to know whether thay are free to promot a petetion to ye genoral court to be set off to us

at a meting of the inhabitants of byfeild this eightenth of march 1717, deckon wiliam moody chosen moderator for sed meting, cornit joseph gearish was chos the first asesor for the year 1717, sergont john cheney the 2d, maximilon jewet chos ye third asesor, mr john brown was chos the fourth. maxi jewet being before chosen a constable for rowly, was released by a voat, & mr daniel jewet was chosen in his roome. mr john noyse the fifth asesor for this present year. for colectors john brockbank 1, edmond ye 2d goodridg chos the 2d colector

at said meting our asesors weare impowred by a voat by the company to take care to inquire & se what mony theare may be found in the former colectors hands & if due

to the company & take account of it & bring in the account of it to the company the next meting

it was also granted by a voat in this present meting to grant to his honour our leiutenant governor sir wiliam dummer⁸ liberty to buld him a pew in the meting hous, on the front side of the meting hous on which hand do pleas. mr john dumer esquire & deckon moody wear chosen to give honour the offer of it

also the instroctions were given to our asesors for the insuing year 1717 as folow: to rais monye for mr hales salery, also to repaire the meting house, also to agre with one to sweep the meting hous & keep it clean and desent & to ring the bell on all needful ocashons, & repair mr hales fences & the outside of his barn, & rais mony to defray the charg thearof

at a meting of the inhabitants of byefield ye 3d of june 1717, nathan wheler was chosen moderator for sed meting. at ye same meting john smith was chos clerk for ye part of ye year insuing. also twas agred on to impowr our asesors to buld a leantow at ye south west end of mr hales barn and board it on the companis cost and raise mony to pay for the doing the same in the next asesment

also at ye meting in ye other page ye 3d june 1717 it was agred on by a voat that our asesors for ye convenioncy of the neiborhood to com throw mr james chuts land to meting are impowred to make a cart gate and hang it at the precincts cost, and leavie it in the next asesment

at a metin of ye inhabitants of byfeild legaly warned mr maximilion jewet being chosen modrator for sed meting, at said meting sergant john cheney was chosen to agree with the comity the court apointed to veiwe high ways in byefeild for a publig benifit. said comity weare capt pebody of boxford, capt richard kembol & capt matthew perkins. serg john chenie was impowred by a voat to agree with said comity, and bring report to ye asesors & to be paid for his pains & the asesors are to levie said

8 For many years a generous supporter of Byfield Parish Church. In 1729 he gave communion silver to the "church of Newbury Falls," which is now exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. His will provided for the establishing of Governor Dummer Academy.

cost in the next asesment to be paid by the company.

also at the meting abovsed the asesors weare impowrd by a voat to tak care and provid shingl & nails and shingle mr hales leantow at the westerly end of his barn, and to lay the cost in the next rate to be paid by the company

at a meting of the inhabitants of buifeild being leagaly warnd on the 17 of desember 1717 dekon wiliam moodye was chosen moderator for said meting. Sed dekn moodye was chosen to go to salim the next seshons to be held thear which will be the last tusday in this instant desember to indevor to settell and geat confirmed the new rhoad lately granted by ye honoured court last held at newbery and bye them a comity ore jurye have lay out said ways from sergnt john chenies to byefeld meting hous and thenc to topsfeild

at a meting of the precinct of byfeild on the 4th of march 1718, mr jonathan wheler chosen modrator for sed meting, john spaford chos ye first asesor for ye year insuin, mr maximilon jewet⁹ was chosen cleark for ye year insuin, mr nathaniel dumer chos ye 2d asesor, mr samuel dinkinson ye 3d asesor, mr abraham adams ye 4th asesor, mr john broclebank ye 5th asesor. mr samuel moody was chos ye first colector. mr william fisk was chos the 2d colector

it was agred on by a voat on the meting on the other sid of the leaf that its now aded to our asesors former instrocions, namly to warn metings from time to time when ther is need, also to remove the fenc at ye back side of mr hales orchard over at each end to ye fenc between mr dumer & ye pasonag, and add more to ye orchard, what may be nedful, also to repaire mr hales hous & siler what may be needful. this was aded to the last years instrinctions and maid in to our asesors instroction for ye year insuing 1718

March the twelveth Anno Dom 1718 At a legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield it was agreed and voated that their shall be an house built for the use of the ministre the Dementions of sd house are as foloweth twenty foot long eighteen foot wide fifteen foot stud with a chimney of tow tunels and a seler of twelve foot square six foot & an half Deep and to have the house finished at or before

9 The second clerk also served for ten years.

the last of October next Insuing, said house to be joynd to the back side of the parsonag house and to stand square with the east end of the parsonage house. voated and past on the affermative

at the abovesd meeting it was agreed and voted that there shall be fifty seven pounds raised by the precinct to defray the charge of the above said house and leived by the assessors in the next ministree rate. voated and past on the affermative. Lionel Chutt deceented to the two former voats

at the abovesd meeting mr Richard Dumer, mr Joseph Hale & Maximilian Jewett were impowered to Covenant and agree with mr David Woodman to build an house for the minstre for the fifty seven pounds which the precinct has granted for that use. voted & pased on the affermative

at the abovesd meeting & voated that the Assessors of this present year shal have to call the last year Assessors to an account for the overplus money that they have assessed the precinct the last year. voated and past on the affermative

at the abovesd meeting it was agreed & voated that Deacon William Moodey should be allowed four pounds for time and money which he hath expended about setling the new Countrey Road to be payd by the precinct, and also Sergiant John Cheney was allowed thirty shilings for the abovesd servis. voated & past on the affermative

At the above said meeting it was agreed and voated that Sergiant John Cheney should be allowed three pounds which he Excepts as full sattisfaction for what Remained due to him about building the parsonage house or any other former expenens except the above sd thirty shilings. past on the affermative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield may the 20th 1718 it was Agreed & voated that there shall bee a monthly Lecture this present year held in this precinct till next march Insuing the Date hereof

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of the Precinct of Byfield January the 14, 1718/9 Decon William Moodey was chosen Moderator

At the abovesd meeting it was agreed & voated that the present Assessors are hereby Impowered to Demand recive

and Dispose of the money that is overplus in the years past that is in former Assessors & Collectors hands and improve the same as far as their may be accasion to Discharge the Expences of the Precinct this present year and to reserve the overplus till farther order. Voated & Past of ye Affirmative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhaitants of Byfield march the third 1719 Benjamin Pearson was Chosen moderator. Benjamin Pearson John Brown John Thurlo Samuel Moodey John Adams was chosen Assessors. Also James Chutt junr & Josiah Smith was chosen Collectors and Maximilian Jewett was chosen clark for the Insuing year

At the abovsd meeting, the Assessors Instructions & Power voated whereby they are Impowered to repair the meeting house parsonage house & barn and outside fences belonging to the parsonag & to point the seler with limb. Also to Agree with some person to swep the meeting house and Keep it clean & Decent, also to ring the bell upon all necessary ocations according to Custom also to warn meeting as they shall think needfull and to lay a rate for the discharge of what money is or may be granted for the suport of the ministre this present year and also for the repairing the meeting house, keeping it clean & desent & ring the bell. Past on the affermative

At A Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield march the third for the chusing of Precinct officers & other business in answer to the Request of the Revnd mr Moses Hale to add Seven pound to his salare at which time he freely oblidged himself for the year Insuing to preach us a sermon upon the third day before each sacrament, it was agreed & voated that the Revnd mr Moses Hale shall have seven pounds Aded to his salary for this Insuing year, the salary before being 83 pounds. Voated and past of ye Affermative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield November 10, 1719 Joseph Hale was chosen an Assessor in the room of Samuel Moodey which hast refused. at the abovsd meeting it was Agreed and voated that vacanyes in seats in meeting house shall be filled up in order thereunto, Cornet Joseph Garish & Crop Jno Spoford were

chosen to joyn with the former committee for the above servis

At A Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield march the first 1720 Sarg John Cheaney was chosen Moderator, Maximilian Jewett was chosen Clerk, Philip Goodbridg Thomas Coleman Jno Brown James Chutte Junr Daniel Jewett was chosen Assesers

Benjamin Woodman & Jonathan Bradstreet was chosen Collectors at the abovsd meeting. It was Agreed & voated that the Reverend mr Moses Hale shall have ninty pounds salare for the Insuing year provided he carry on the work of the Ministre among us and preach the Lector, the one half in money the other half as money and also that the last fifty pounds formerly granted to the Reverend mr Moses Hale shall be levied in the next ministre Rate. voated and pased on the affermitive

At the abovesd meeting it was Agreed & voated that the Assessors for the Insuing year are Impowerd to repara the meeting house Parsonage House & Barn and also all the out side fences orchard fence belonging to the Parsonage also to warn meetings as they shall think needfull and also to agree with som person to sweep the meeting house to keep it clean and Decent also to ring the bell upon all Necessary ocations according to custom and to Levey wat money is or may be Granted by the precinct for ye suport of the ministre upon the Inhabitants as the Law Directs and to call the former colectors to an account and to Demand and receive the over plus money yt is in there hands. Voated and pased on the Affermitive. The above written Instructions was voated & pased on the affermative march the seventh 1721

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of byfield September 13th, 1720 Nathan Wheler was chosen moderator. at the abovsd meeting it was agreed and voated Edmond Goodbridge mr Stephen Longfelow Benjamin Woodman Joshua Boynton & Samll Dicknson shall have the seat before the govenners pew on the same terms that they had the seat before mr Richard Dumers pew as appears by record Excepting the building or raising sd seat and the abovsd persons are to make up the number seven Women

that belong to this abovsd precinct and if any of the women do remove out of the seat they are to take in so as to mak up the Number seven provided the above named persons renounce the seat before mr Richard Dumer pew. passed on the afermative

In consideration of the above menshoned act we the subscribers do quit our right in the seat before mr Richard Dumer pew as witness our hands

Edmund Goodridg
Joshua Boynton Junr
Beniemin Woodman
Samuell Dickinson

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield March the seventh Anno Dom 1721 John Brown was chosen moderator Maximilian Jewett was chosen clerk Assessors chosen, Phillip Goodrich Samuell Moodey Daniel Hale John Spoford Joshua Boynton Junr. Collectors chosen namly Jonathan Wheler Benjamin Pearson Junr. at the abovsd meeting it was agreed & voated that the Deacon seat should be enlarged at the uper end past on the affermative

at a Legal meeting of the Inhaitants of Byfield December the fifth Anno Dom 1721 Nathan Wheler was chosen modrator seven pounds was Added for this year to the Reverend mr Moses Hales salary that is to the eighty three formerly granted and also the charges for ceiling the study and pertition was granted Voated & past on ye affermative

Anno Dom 1722

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of byfield march the 12th 1722 Decon John Cheney was chosen moderator, Maximilian Jewett was chosen Clark Assessers also chosen namly John Spoford Philip Goodbridge William Fisk Samll Goodbridge Lionel Chutt. at the abovsd meeting also Colectors chosen Thomas Plumer Thomas Wicom

The Instructions and power that are given to the Assessors at the abovsd meeting are as followeth Imprimis to Repare the meeting house & Parsonage House and barn also to make and repair all out side fences belonging to the sd parsonage also the orchard fence & to Warn meetings

as they shall think needful also to imploy some person to swep the meeting house to keep it clean & decent & to ring the bell upon all Necessary accations according to custom and also to Levey what money is or may be granted by the Precinct for the suport of the ministree upon the Inhabitants as the Law Derects and to call the former Collectors to an account and to demand & receive any money that is due to the Precinct in any of the former collectors hands for the use and according to the order of sd Precinct and the Assessors are hereby Impowerd to prosecute as the law directs any of the former collector or collectors or any other person or persons that shall Neglect or refuse to pay in to the present assessors the money that is due from him or them to the sd precinct voated & past on the affirmative March 12 1722/3

at the abovsd meeting it was Agreed as voated that the Northerly end of the parsonage land shall be fenced in this insuing year and the assesors are appointed to make or cause the fence to be made voated and past on ye Affermative

At the abovsd meeting mr Joseph Hale was chosen to pettion the Town of Newbury to lay out a rhod through the farmes beginning at the Countrey Rhod by the Leiut Governors till it come through John Dumer Esqrs land and if they Neglect or refuse to lay out a rhod to pettion the next Court to be holden at Ipswich for relief in that case voated & past on the affirmative

At the abovsd meeting it was Agreed that the Revnd mr Moses Hale shall have seven pounds added to his salary that is to the eighty three pounds formerly granted provided he the sd mr Hale preach the lectures before the sacrament the one half in money the other half in grain as money, it is to be understood for the present year Insuing voted & past on the Affirmative voted & past on the Affirmative march 19th 1723 voted & past on the Affirmative march 03th 1723/4

At a Legal meeting of Inhabitants of Byfield March 19th 1722/3 Decon Daniel Jewett was chosen Moderator Maximilian Jewett was chosen clerk Assesors chosen Namly John Guttridge Benjamin Plumer Jnr Thomas Col-

man Ebenzer Boynton Stephen Longfellow Collectors
chosen Namly Daniel Hale Gershum Fraser

at a legal meeting of the Inhabitants of the Precinct of Byfield march the third Anno Dom 1723/4 the Instructions & power then given to the assessors this present year Insuing are as followeth Imprimis to Repair the meeting house & Parsonage House & Barn also to make & repair all outside fences and orchard fence belonging to the parsonage and to warn meetings as they shall think needful also to Imploy some person to swep the meeting house to keep it clean & decent to ring the bell upon all Necessary ocations according to custom also to levey what money is or may be granted by the precinct for the saport of the ministree upon the Inhabitants of sd Precinct according as the law directs and also to call the present & former collectors to an acount and to demand and receive any money that is due to the precinct from any collector or collectors or any other person or persons for ye use and according to the order of the precinct and also the present Assessors are hereby impowered to presecute as the law directs any collector or collectors or any other Person or Persons that shall Neglect or refuse to pay to the present Assesors or their order any money that is due from him or them to the sd Precinct voated & past on the affirmative Voated & past on the affirmative Anno Dom 1725 & in ye year 1726 voated and past of the affirmative in the year 1727 & in 1728

At the aforsd meeting it was Agreed & voated that their shall be a new meeting house built for the worship of God in this precinct and that it shall raised some time for June in the year 1725 as neer the old meeting house as can be with convenience at the west end of the old meeting house Past on the affirmative

At the aforsd meeting Leiut Nathaniel Dummer, Decon Daniel Jewett & mr Thomas Coleman were chosen to consider what maner of house to build as to the form & Demention and what the expences of sd meeting house may amount unto and make return to the Precinct

at the abovesd meeting their was one hundred pounds granted towards the building of a new meeting house to

be levied upon the Inhabitants of this precinct of Byfield and collected this present year voated & passed on ye affirmative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield march the third 1723/4 mr Benjamin Pearson was chosen moderator Maximilian Jewett was chosen clerk Assessors chosen for the year insuing Namly John Goodbridge Corp Isaac Adams Jonathan Bradstreet David Woodman William Serls Collectors chosen for the year insuing Namly Mathew Duty Francis Brocklebank

the voat confirming the meeting house one leaf backward and also the assessors instructions

At the abovesd meeting it was agreed and voated that the Town of Newbury should be petitioned by mr Joseph Hale & mr Nathan Wheler to lay out away through the farms beginning at the Countrey Rhode by the Leiut Governours till it come to the parsonage land on sd Towns cost and if the Town neglect or refuse then to aply themselves to the court for relief therein voated and past on the Affermative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield January 25 1724/5 mr Benjamin Pearson was chosen moderator Daniel Jewett was chosen clerk for said meeting

at the above sd meeting it was agreed and voted to build an adistion to the meeting house, of twelve foot at the west end of the meeting house. this passed on the affirmative At the above said meeting Decon Willuam Moody, Liuet John Spaford mr Richard Dumer mr Joseph Hail mr Isaac Adams were chosen a comitte to build the Adistion to the meeting house that was Agread on. this passed on the affirmative. At the above sd meeting the assessors were impowered to leave fifty pounds this present year toward building sd adistion to the meeting house, and what it shall cost more to be raised the next year insueing. this passed on the affirmative

At the above sd meeting it was agreed and voted that the comitte now chosen are impowred to repair the pulpitt and the meeting House this passed on the affirmative it was agreed and voted that the work should be done and compleated by the last day of September next insueing

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield December 22 Anno Dom 1724 mr Benjamin Pearson was chosen Moderator

at the abovesd meeting it was tried by a voat whither they would chuse a comittee to agree with a man or men to build a meeting house & Pased on the affermative the comittee chosen were Corp Isaac Adams mr Joseph Hale Ebenzer Stewart

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield March the seventeenth 1724/5 Assessors chosen Namly mr John Goodbridge Dec Daniel Jewett mr Joseph Hale mr James Chutt mr Samull Moodey Benjamin Pearson chosen moderator Maximilian Jewitt was chosen clerk Collectors chosen Namly William Serls John Boynton

At the abovsd meeting it was agreed & voated that the Reverend mr Moses Hale shall have for his yearly salary one Hundred pounds so long as he shall be continued our minister

At the abovsd meeting it was agreed & voated that their shall be so much money raised as shall make up ninety pounds with what money is due to the precinct and what money shall be given by the Neighbours that are bordering upon the Precinct the money that is wanting to make ninty pounds shall by the present assessors be leived upon the Inhabitants of the Precinct & committed to the Collectors who shall deliver the said money into the hands of the comitee chosen to build an Addition to the meeting house and to repair sd house for discharge of repairing and building an addition to the sd house this voat Pased on the affermative

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield March 1st Anna Dom 1725/6 mr Benjamin Pearson was chosen moderator Max was chosen clerk Assessors then chosen Namly Benjamin Woodman John Addams Joshua Boynton Amos Pilsbury Thomas Plumer Collectors chosen Namly Samll Brown Nickolas Cheney

at the abovsd Meeting Benjamin Peirson Isaac Adams Ebenzer Stewart was chosen to run lines settel bounds & devide the fence between the parsonage land and any person or persons that have land joyning upon the parsonage

land and also to agree with the persons that have land joyning were each person or the precinct shall dig rocks which may be most convenient for each partys fence

At the abovesd meeting it was Agreed & voated that the back seats in the south corner and in the noent end of the meeting house should be built up on the charge of the Precinct

At a Leagall meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield march 17th Anno Dom 1726 Decon William Moodey was chosen moderator

at the abovsd meeting Decon William Moodey & Decon Daniel Jewett to take a deed of sale for ye precinct of Jno Dumer Esquire of the Parsonage land which he hath not yet given and to perfit the deed of sale in the Law

at the abovsd meeting the commite Namly Benjamin Pearson Isaac Addams Ebenezer Stewart being chosen march the first 1725/6 to run lines settel bounds & devide fenc between the Precinct and any other person or persons that have land joyning to the Personage Land have made their return and it is accepted by the precinct and ordered to be put upon the Precinct record desiring the committee & each person that hath land joyning to the Precinct land to sign to the sd return in the precinct book this voted and pased on the afermative

The Return of Committee at the abovsd meeting:

Whereas we the subscribers were Chosen a committee for the Precinct to run lines settell bounds and devide with persons that have land joyning to the Personage land we have done it to the best of skill as followeth that is to say between Thomas Colmans land & the Personage land begining twenty-five foots from Jno Dummer Esqs Gate southeasterly and then runing westerly on a line to a black oak tree about six rods short of said Colmans bounds westerly by Frasers Gate the bounds is bowing in two rods in the Personage land from the strait line two rods against the deviation of the fence the west end of the fence belonging to the said Parsonage the other end to sd Colman The Precinct is to mentain four rods more then Colman for sd Colman mentainig the Gate

And also we have setteld the bounds and devided the

fence between mr John Smith land as followeth westerly by a heap of stones runing esterly to a white oak tree marked and so esterly to a black oak tree marked which is the corner bounds & also we have devided the fence between said Smith & parsonage land & sd Smith is to have the esterly end the sd precinct to mentane five rods more then sd Smith in consideration of sd Smith mentaining the Gate the Precinct to mentain the west end of the fence

And also we setteled the line between Fraser and the Personage as folloeth beginning at a black oak tree on the southerly or southest corner of sd Personage land which tree is the corner bounds between mr Jno Smith land and the personage land so runing Northerly over a large rock the highest part of it thence on a line to a stake and stones which is the bounds between Coleman & Fraser sd Frazer is to mentane the Northerly end of sd fence & the Precinct the southerly end

also between Nathanil Dummer¹⁰ as foloweth. begining at the west end as the wall now stands till it coms to a Rock marked with a letter B. from thence on a line until it com to the old parsonage land as it is now stakt out, and then to run as the fence now stands to the stone wall which fences John Dummers pasture

And allso we have divided the wall betwen said John Dummer and the Parsonage and we are to have the west end and sd Dummer the east end and in consideration of the gate, the Precinct are to maintain six rods more of sd wall then said Dummer

In conformation of what is above writen the commitee in the behalf of the precinct and the proprietors each for themselves have set to our hands the seventeenth day of march Anno Dom 1726

Benjamin Pearson	}	Comitee
Ebenezer Stuart		
Isaac Adams		

10 The parish clerk apparently relinquished his pen, for this concerning the Dummer boundaries appears in Nathaniel Dummer's own handwriting.

John Dummer	
Thomas Colman	
Gershom Frazer	The proprietors of land
Josiah Smith	joyning to ye Parsonage
Nathaniel Dummer	

At a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield March the seventh Anno Dom 1727 mr Benjamin Pearson was chosen moderator Maximilian Jewett was chosen clerk Assessors chosen the first mr David Woodman, 2d Corp John Brocklebank, 3d Benjamin Pearson Jur., 4th Leiut John Spoford, 5th John Boynton. Collectors chosen Namly 1st Leonard Hevaman, 2d Joseph Goodrich.

At the abovsd meeting the présent assesors were Impowered to give orders to the Former Colectors to pay to the commitee or their orders the mony that is due to Aaron Plumer for what he done to the meeting house more then his Bargon about enlarging & finishing the meeting house voated & pased on the affermative

At the abovsd meeting mr Abraham Addams Leiut Nathaniel Dumer Decon Daniel Jewett & Insign Benjamin Plumer were chosen to petition each of their Respective Towns to free the precinct from paying taxes to the upholding of the school in their respective towns provided that they keep & mentaine a good school in the sd Precinct constantly voated & past on the affermative

At the abovesd meeting it was agreed & voated that if Nathaniel Cleark — Dowel¹¹ — Smith¹¹ shal aply themselves to the Genarel Court to obtain a dismission from the precinct they belong in order to joyning with our Precinct the precinct shall be at one half the charge

At the abovesd meting mr Stephen Longfelo & mr Thomas Coleman were made choice of to Request the Town of Newbury to lay or cause to be layd out away from the Countrey Rhod by the Leiut Governors Gate to the Parsonage land Past on the affermative

¹¹ The first names appear to have been unknown and were never filled in.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE EMBATTLED FARMERS, A MASSACHUSETTS COUNTRYSIDE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Lee Nathaniel Newcomer. 1953, 274 pp., octavo, cloth. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University. Price, \$3.50.

This is a thorough picture of the social and economic conditions existing in the three counties of western Massachusetts—Berkshire, Hampshire and Worcester—during the period of the 1750's to the end of the American Revolution. "In Massachusetts the war was fought, not from the State House in Boston, but from the meetinghouses in the various towns." From the newspapers, diaries and family papers Dr. Newcomer has ably presented a clear-cut accurate account of how the farmers, artisans, clergymen and others reacted to, abetted and fought the revolution in this area. The book is full of interesting and human incidents relating to the every day life of the people. The following is but one example. "The stoppage of imports caused a scarcity of salt, an important commodity in the livestock industry. Some farmer-soldiers foresaw this shortage and early wrote home to lay in a supply. One Pelham wife was urged to buy 'two or three Bushel of Salt as quick as you Can for it will Bee Deer.'" The final chapter gives a discerning analysis of the results of the revolution. There is a good bibliography and index.

ANCESTRY OF COLONEL JOHN HARRINGTON STEVENS AND HIS WIFE FRANCES HELEN MILLER, v. 2. Comp. for Helen Pendleton (Winston) Pillsbury by Winifred Lovering Holman. 1952, 179 pp., octavo, cloth. Concord, N. H.: Rumford Press.

This genealogy which is volume 2 of "Stevens Miller Ancestry" comprises the ancestry of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Green which was discovered after the publication of volume 1. The research led to information concerning the Green, Morse, Jasper, Badcock, Drury, Rice, Weare, Gooch, Frost, Moore and Tarne families. This is a valuable addition to published genealogies. It is well indexed.

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FEMALE EDUCATION.

UNION CATECHISM,

FOUNDED UPON

A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT THE

DEDICATION OF THE SEMINARY HALL

IN SAUGUS, JAN. 15, 1822.

To which is added,

THE LITTLE RECKONER,

CONSISTING PRINCIPALLY OF

ARITHMETICAL QUESTIONS FOR INFANT MINDS.

BY JOSEPH EMERSON,

PRINCIPAL OF THE FEMALE SEMINARY, AND MINISTER
OF THE CHURCH IN THAT PLACE.

BOSTON:

SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG AND CROCKER & BREWSTER,
NEW YORK:—JOHN P. HAVEN.

1822.

DEDICATION OF SEMINARY HALL, SAUGUS, 1822

SCRIPTURE HISTORY;

CONSISTING PARTLY OF

BIBLE QUESTIONS,

AND PARTLY OF

QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS;

INTERPERSED WITH

INSTRUCTIONS,

DOCTRINAL, PRACTICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

PRINCIPALLY IN THE

FORM OF NOTES;

Designed for the use of Individuals, Families, and Schools,

ESPECIALLY

SABBATH SCHOOLS.

BY JOSEPH EMERSON,
Principal of Byfield Seminary for Young Ladies.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG,
AND CROCKER & BREWSTER,
No. 50, Cornhill.

1821.

JOSEPH EMERSON'S UNION CATECHISM
Published when Principal of Byfield Seminary, 1821

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JOSEPH EMERSON, EDUCATOR

EARLY ORGANIZER OF ACADEMIES IN BYFIELD AND SAUGUS

By HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

It is always in order to praise the mothers of famous men. Is it not equally in order to pay tribute to the teachers of famous educators? Every one knows and honors the name of Mary Lyon, but all too few know the name of her beloved and inspiring teacher, Joseph Emerson. Of him and his school at Byfield, Massachusetts, Mary Lyon wrote, "Elsewhere I had read and studied for my own gratification. I had sought knowledge for the delight I derived from its acquisition. Here (in Mr. Emerson's school) I was taught that knowledge was desirable principally as a means of usefulness to others; and that literary selfishness was as sinful as any other selfishness."¹

That ideal of being of use to others was the keynote of Joseph Emerson's whole life, of his own teaching, and of his advice to those preparing to teach: "Leading every conscientious pupil to feel her individual responsibility to serve her generation according to the will of God."²

Joseph Emerson, a second cousin of the more famous Ralph Waldo Emerson, prepared for college at New Ipswich Academy, New Hampshire, a few miles from his birthplace at Hollis, New Hampshire. When he took his degree at Harvard in 1798, he was planning to study for the ministry, but accepted a position to teach at the newly organized academy at Framingham, Massachusetts. Apparently he enjoyed teaching from the first, for he wrote, "The toils of the day are past. Toils? No, they are not

1 R. Emerson, *Life of Joseph Emerson*, p. 425.

2 *Ibid*, p. 430.

toils, they are pleasures . . . O Harvard! thy joys rise fresh to my soul. Sweet are the joys of Harvard, but they are past. Sweeter are the joys of Framingham."³ Sweet indeed were the joys of Framingham, for there he met Nancy Eaton, who became his first wife, and to whom he gave as an engagement present a Bible, and a copy of Euclid's geometry!

His joy in teaching evidently overflowed into verse:—

Frequent where once I trained my little school,
In nightly dreams I rule, or seem to rule,
Censure a whisper or a laugh reprove,
And try their honor or their shame to move;
Tell them of comets with their fright'ning blaze;
Trace their mistakes, or emulation raise,
Point out the faults of Alexander's scheme,
Inspect a letter, or review a theme,
Or mend a pen, or hear a class recite,
Or lecture misses that they all may write.
Sometimes invited to a social ring
I hear them prattle or I hear them sing;
Or sit and muse in thoughtfulness profound,
In sullen silence while the dance moves round.⁴

The next year he was offered a position as tutor in geography and natural philosophy at Harvard. This he at first refused, but later accepted. According to the brother who wrote his biography the one thing that was disagreeable to Joseph Emerson in the thought of being a tutor was the "extreme distance and reserve so scrupulously maintained in those days between the officers and the students of the college,"⁵ but he added that Joseph gained the affection of his students without losing their respect. This was true of him throughout his life, from the early days at Framingham to the close of his teaching career at Wethersfield, Connecticut.

But his chosen profession was still the ministry. In fact, teaching in the early days of the nineteenth century was not generally regarded as a lifetime profession, but as a stop gap on the way to law or medicine or the min-

3 Ibid, p. 44.

4 Ibid, p. 48.

5 Ibid, p. 68.

istry. Joseph Emerson was ordained at Windsor, Vermont, and preached there and at Beverly, Massachusetts, still with no intention of turning to any other profession. But several things happened quite close together. He had been in poor health all his life, and some writers think he turned to teaching as a work not so exacting as the ministry. (We must remember the miles of walking and riding for parish calls in the wide parishes of the day.) His poor health led to his taking a trip South, in the course of which he stayed in the family of the Rev. Lyman Beecher at Litchfield, Connecticut. There he must have seen the students from Miss Sarah Pierce's famous school for girls, since some of the "young misses" boarded in the Beecher family. Did the work in that school lead him to think about education for girls? And lastly, his wife had died, and he married as his second wife Miss Rebecca Hasseltine, an elder sister of Miss Abigail Hasseltine, preceptress at Bradford Academy. Did her influence turn him to teaching?⁶ At all events he became more and more interested in the problem of educating girls to become teachers. Girls would be the mothers of the next generation. They had the time and the ability to be teachers. He even found justification for his faith in the Bible stories, which he said, though written in a part of the earth where female character was undervalued, nevertheless were full of testimony to the ability of women.

The first seminary he organized was at Byfield, Massachusetts, in a building that had been a meeting house, furnished with long, unpainted benches and desks. It was advertised as a "Seminary for Teachers," and the pupils were mostly young women who had had some experience teaching in "district schools." Among them were Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, both of whom were destined to carry still further the traditions established by Mr. Emerson. Some of the pupils were married women, one over thirty years of age. It was at Byfield that he drew up an "agreement" for the "Society for Instruction:"

We engage, as far as may be consistent with the claims of other duties, to exert ourselves, to gain and communicate as

6 Suggested by some writers on Bradford Academy.

much information as possible, relating to the best means and methods of learning and teaching the most useful branches of literature and science, especially reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, and religion. And we particularly engage to use our endeavors, by conversation, correspondence etc., to assist, encourage and animate each other in promoting the great object of this society. Byfield, Nov. 24, 1818.⁷

During the time Mr. Emerson was Principal at Byfield he gave a course of lectures on astronomy in Boston. A notice in the Boston "Palladium" Feb. 9, 1819, stated that "the whole avails of these lectures are to be appropriated to the charitable purpose of aiding pious and indigent young ladies in obtaining an education with a view to qualify themselves for the important business of teaching. . . . Indigent females, many of whom with the advantages of education might embellish and improve society are often without resource." Mr. Emerson wrote under date of Feb. 11, that he hoped to have at least \$350.00 "to carry home to my poor scholars."⁸ He was evidently thinking about the girls he hoped to educate as teachers and mothers, rather than about the finances of the school. In fact, like many scholarly men, he lacked practical business ability.

In 1821, Mr. Emerson was called to Saugus, where he was to be both pastor and teacher. An association for a female seminary had been formed among the leading citizens and a school building erected. This building adjoined the parsonage, and could in bad weather be used for the church services, an arrangement very acceptable to the semi-invalid teacher and preacher.

In a charming letter he invited Zilpah Grant who had been pupil and then assistant at Byfield to join him at Saugus:

My pupils are not only more numerous but much younger and less pious than usual . . . Utmost danger that my health will fail . . . I often turn my thoughts to *one* for whose former assistance I desire to bless God—one, who has done more than any other young lady, to raise my Seminary—one, whom my pupils are prepared to receive with respect, with affection,

⁷ Biography of Emerson, p. 249.

⁸ Biography, p. 251.

with the utmost confidence. We wish for your assistance both Summer and Winter . . . We think it duty to invite you to come as soon as your engagements may admit . . . I hope no lion will be in the way of your coming. Perhaps it is needless to say, that I am most ardently desirous to make my Seminary very much better than it has been, and better thence again, and better still.⁹

At the dedication of this seminary Mr. Emerson chose for his text the verse, "That our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." This he interpreted as meaning that "our daughters may be qualified to fill with dignity, propriety and usefulness the important stations, which they may be called to occupy." "A solid substance receives the best polish,"¹⁰ therefore there should be a solid foundation in education. He also elucidated his argument that women would be at one and the same time "excellent and less expensive teachers than men."

The school at Saugus increased in numbers from 45 in 1818 to 122 in 1822. Among the pupils was Sara Payson Willis Parton, better known by her pseudonym of Fanny Fern. Another young person who came under Mr. Emerson's influence at Saugus was his chore boy, Cornelius Felton, later President of Harvard.

Mr. Emerson had to leave his teaching at Saugus because of his health, and ultimately the school closed, partly because of dispute in the town, and partly because a number of students died in a typhoid epidemic, and others were taken away by parents frightened at the epidemic.

Meantime Mr. Emerson had gone south for the winter. Even though he had gone for his health he held classes in Charleston, South Carolina that year.

In 1824, he was invited to be the head of a new Female Seminary at Wethersfield, Connecticut.

The Prospectus of the school which he put out in 1826 contained not only the list of studies offered, but the rules

⁹ Biography, p. 261.

¹⁰ Discourse delivered at Dedication of Female Seminary in Saugus; also Essex Institute Hist. Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 77.

for both teachers and pupils. The American Journal of Education referred to it as "one of the best manuals hitherto published on the subject of practical education."¹¹

What type of education did girls need to prepare them for teaching? Not purely the memorization of facts, but the ability to think. Emerson was as bitter as the other early academy men over an education that consisted only of memory work. "Book in hand, hear the words of a lesson! This can hardly be called teaching—it is the book that teaches, not you." "Students who are industrious, generally read four times as much at college as they should. It is thinking, thinking intensively, systematically, and perseveringly that makes the scholar."¹²

In the "Prospectus for Wethersfield Seminary" he speaks of the recitation as "an opportunity not merely to hear the pupils recite their own lessons but to ask them collateral questions; to ask question upon question, to add illustration, and by actual example to teach them to discuss and investigate. This must be much more conducive to improve their reasoning powers and make them logicians than merely their learning the rules of logic."¹³

His own pupils testified to his natural genius in the art of questioning.

Uncommon skill in exciting those around him to think . . . Proposing such questions as at once seemed capable of solution; and yet actually required much thought to solve. When it was necessary he would give a clue to the solution of a difficulty; but ordinarily the mind he was guiding, must distinctly see and weigh the arguments on opposite sides . . . before it could discover how the case stood in his own . . . His patience with persons unskilled in reasoning, and his uniform kindness and cheerfulness of manner overcame the timidity of almost every active intellect.¹⁴

To quote again from Emerson himself, "A person may read all the books in the world without becoming learned. Thinking, *thinking* makes the scholar . . . Examine critic-

11 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

12 R. Emerson, Life of Joseph Emerson, p. 162.

13 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

14 R. Emerson, Life of Joseph Emerson, pp. 426-427. Quoted from Z. Grant.

ally what you read, and to judge for yourself. Is not your reason strong enough to begin to go alone?"¹⁵

Not only were pupils encouraged in analytical reasoning, but also in organizing material, for Emerson is credited with being the first to introduce the topical method. Mary Lyon defined it thus: "Subjects are selected from the lesson, which are first to be simply defined; and then more or less, or all, that the book contains, is to be learned and recited."¹⁶

This method may have grown out of his own manner of writing his sermons. He said he first put down ideas without much regard to order, then arranged the material in orderly fashion with main and sub-heads, and finally reduced his notes to one-sixteenth of a sheet of paper, for said he, "pulpit reading is the death of eloquence."¹⁷

He was not confined to any one method in teaching. He said he used questions, printed questions, for the beginners, and topical system for older pupils. He also used the lecture method, for there were not too many good text books in his day. He wrote questions for many of the texts in use, and advised teachers to write out the questions they planned to use, for, said he, "to form and utter questions on the spur of the occasion is one of the most difficult kinds of extemporaneous speaking that I have ever attempted."¹⁸

And the result of all this on the pupil? INTEREST! Again from the Prospectus: "Render your instruction interesting. If a teacher cannot do this it is of little consequence what other qualifications he may possess." If you would interest your pupils you must be interested yourself.

In order to render the pupils' progress the most pleasing and rapid, it is not enough that the instructor understand the exercises which he assigns. He must consult other books; he must think; he must dive into the subject; he must compare. He must be able to raise questions upon the subject which will lead to the application of general principles. He

15 Ibid, p. 62.

16 Lansing, M. Mary Lyon through her letters, p. 49.

17 R. Emerson, *Life of Joseph Emerson*, p. 170.

18 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

must be able to illustrate and elucidate and tell the whys and the wherefores. This will render his exercises interesting and instructive to every mind that has the least taste for science. But this requires labor; though it is a labor that yields its own reward.¹⁹

Never tell the pupils directly what they can conveniently learn without assistance . . . it is the only way to promote their fondness for study . . . It is also a cruel kindness that is incessantly telling, and aiding the pupil in doing that which without such assistance she might easily accomplish. . . . Never indulge your pupils in saying *can't* or expressing inability to perform any exercise required . . . Freely indulge and encourage your pupils in asking questions and as far as possible lead them to the answers by questioning them . . . Teach your pupils to teach themselves.²⁰

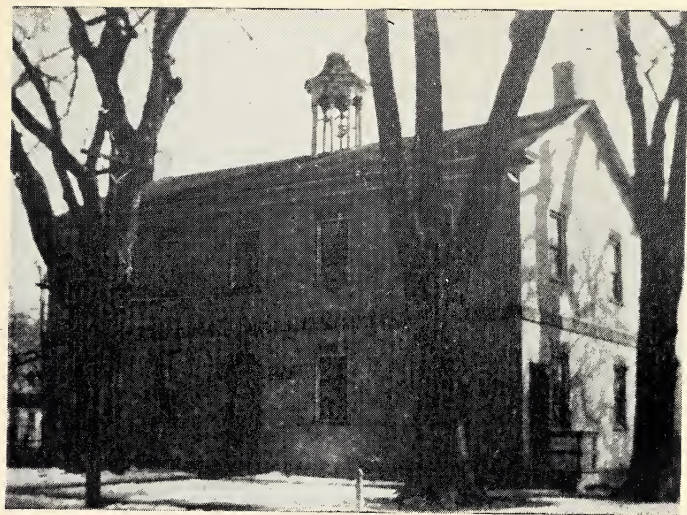
In all his work he had two guides, reason and religion, often united. Even sharpening a pencil he said should be done by a system. It is characteristic of him that he analyzed the essential qualities of penmanship: 70% legibility; 20% rapidity; and only 10% elegance. The flourishes so much in style in his day he denounced sternly: "All superfluous strokes in writing I consider the superfluity of naughtiness, for all these things we are accountable."

One of his interesting inventions was to mark the edges of the leaves of his Bible so that Genesis would be red, Exodus blue, and so on. He suggested that the same thing might be done to the dictionary. This was about 1806, and Webster's dictionary had no marginal guide until the edition of 1884.

A man with such original ideas was sure to be dissatisfied with the text books in use. He wrote a few text books himself, chief among them a course on astronomy, and a "letter" on the study of United States history. That last grew out of an appeal made to him by a graduating class at Wethersfield. Their letter proves the affection the girls had for him, and also how he had succeeded in awakening in them a love for study. "Beloved and respected Sir: The young ladies of the Senior Class, feeling that in a few

19 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, p. 89.

20 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.



WETHERSFIELD TOWN OFFICE RENTED TO JOSEPH EMERSON FOR HIS ACADEMY

Courtesy of L. Wayne Adams

days, they shall be deprived of your instructions and desirous of pursuing still farther the course commenced in your seminary, respectfully request your advice relative to a choice of such books, as are most calculated to facilitate their design."²¹

Of course he replied to the letter. Oh yes, a reply that involved a whole winter's work in outlining the study of United States history.

Before this, in 1817, he had published his "Evangelical Primer," which was reissued in 1825, and sold over 200,000 copies. The course in Astronomy referred to was published in 1819. In 1832, he issued a "Poetic Reader with exercises in Reading, Singing, Parsing, Hermeneutics, Rhetoric and Punctuation." He was called on again and again to compose questions at the ends of the chapters in various text books. This he did for Whelpley's "Compendium of History," in the two editions of 1816 and 1828. He did the same for Goodrich's "History of the United States" in 1831.

The edition of Watt's "On the Mind" which he edited in 1833, has directions to both teacher and pupil about preparing the lesson. To the pupil: Read the lesson over once. Read it a second time, and judge if it is true. Read it a third time and answer the questions. To the teacher: Fill your mind and heart with the spirit of the lesson. Ask the printed questions, keeping a record of performance. Go over again without record, with much lecturing, questioning and plain talk. Impress on pupils' minds the truths and duties.²²

In this book he included a

"A PRAYER FOR A STUDENT"

"O thou Father of lights and God of grace, I beseech thee to pardon my unworthiness, to enlighten my mind, to invigorate my faculties, to quicken my attention, to deliver me from prejudice, and enable me to pursue my study with great success that I may be prepared for usefulness and glory for the Redeemer's sake. O thou Sun of Righteous-

21 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, p. 320.

22 From Emerson's edition of Watts, *On the Mind*.

ness, shine upon the pages before me. May I understand them."²³

His comments on the various subjects of the course at the Seminary throw a light on his own mind. Of reading he said, "Not a quarter part of the students when they enter college can read tolerably, nor half when they leave college. University degrees without an education I do despise more and more." He complained about the people who "read so much and understand so little," and suggested that there was no training in reading so helpful as reading aloud to a child. "If you don't make the meaning clear the child will not listen." He was very fond of poetry and it is easy in his letters to trace his increasing discrimination. Darwin's "Botanic Garden" was the favorite poem of his youth. Young, "the precious invaluable friend . . . ripening by my side—balm of my sorrows, pillow of my weary throbbing head—sweetener of my sweetest joys;" Thompson, "great painter of nature's scenery;" Watts, "loveliest of the lovely." But Milton he came to appreciate above them all: "He begins in the middle.—Having begun at the centre and swept his circumference round and round, he leaves off where he began . . . Most learned, the most original, and the most sublime."²⁴

Mathematics he considered most valuable. To him, everything must be reduced to reason, so Geometry would naturally appeal. We remember he had given a copy of Euclid to his bride upon their engagement! Colburn's "Arithmetic" he said was a "sure cure for mental lethargy." He advocated that children be taught to count before they learned to read, and "the child should commence the study of geometry before learning the alphabet."²⁵

Geography he referred to as "that great and noble subject."²⁵ He reversed the order of teaching geography. The older texts had begun with a discussion of the solar system, definitions, the eastern and western hemispheres, then Europe, Asia, Africa, and last of all the Americas.

23 Ibid.

24 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, pp. 358-360.

25 Prospectus of Wethersfield.

He began with maps of the home town, then of the State, Nation, and finally continents and the world as a whole. In the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut, there is a photostatic reproduction of a plate of "Geographical Tickets" which he had published for his classes. The plate is 16½ by 21 inches and contains 168 tickets. Each ticket has a question printed at the top, and the answer printed upside down at the bottom. Much as he emphasized the necessity for thinking, Joseph Emerson also recognized the necessity for thorough grounding in fundamentals. These tickets were one of many devices of his for drill work.

In Grammar he talked about "practical understanding and application." The theoretical or universal grammar of his day taught general principles, applicable in all languages, and only after that the grammar of the native tongue. To Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon, he wrote about 1827. "I wish one of you to write, is a grammar—a grammar divested of fine-spun, conjectural theories and false definitions—a grammar based wholly upon facts, and conducive to utility . . . The best grammar for you and me is undoubtedly Murray's . . . The theories of Webster (Horne Tooke) Cardell and Sherman I consider wild, wilder, wildest. I have examined them closely."²⁶

History he wished made vivid, and was much pleased with Whelpley's "Compendium" of which he said, "He does not coldly tell us about the wonderful works of Providence, and the mighty deeds of men. He awakens them from the slumber of the ages. He sets them before our eyes. We see, we hear, we feel, we admire, we remember."²⁷

Foreign languages did not interest him. He had studied the classics, but in a letter in 1827, to the President of Amherst College where Emerson's son was a student, he remarked, "The necromancy of the dead languages that has so long darkened and disgraced the high places of science and literature is losing its charm . . . None will sigh for the filth or the wild jumble of Horace, or the use-

26 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, pp. 318, 319.

27 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

less narrative of Xenophon.”²⁸ When will Christians cease to idolize the idolatry of the heathen? Of course the background of this was an emphasis on religion. As he said in a letter to Rev. Dr. Edwards, “Its sacred and richly diversified pages [of the Bible] are sufficient . . . without the aid of Homer, Virgil or Newton.”²⁹ His brother who wrote the biography of Joseph Emerson said, “He was led to believe the mind may be more advantageously disciplined while it is at the same time acquiring knowledge of a more practical nature.”³⁰ He devised plans for a short course in Latin with reference to the derivation of English words; but no language except Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament really appealed to him. Of course he was engaged in training girls to be mothers and teachers of little children, and language he thought would not be a practical part of such education. As for modern languages, “worse than nought—a mere negative quantity . . . would conduce to mental inebility by still more distracting a mind already too much distracted.”³¹

He believed in constant exercises in composition. “Writing has a tendency to make us think closely upon any subject, and is perhaps the best method of studying a subject, when we have sufficient materials to work with, is to set them down, and write.”³² In a letter to his son he said, “The writing of reviews is one of the most profitable exercises in which you can engage. This exercise gives you very great latitude. Besides criticism upon the author you may add remarks just according to your ideas.”³³

Sciences he was interested in, liking best of the texts of his day Mrs. B——’s “Conversations upon Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.” Astronomy was “by far the most noble and elevating and most suited to inspire devotion. Scarcely any other have I found so delightful. But it has no connection with the common business of life. No doubt Young Ladies may be better employed than in cal-

28 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, p. 310.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 307.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 311.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 307.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 321.



RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH EMERSON, WETHERSFIELD, CONNECTICUT
WHERE HE HAD HIS SCHOOL IN 1824

THE
FEDERAL
BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441111) FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-100000) (P)
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

100-100000

100-100000

culating eclipses and tracing the tracks of comets.”³⁴

His relations with his pupils were friendly and fatherly, for he always felt a strong sense of personal responsibility for them. One pictures him, a tall, thin man, bending over to talk with some young girl, his keen black eyes regarding her steadily from under his high forehead. Many of his pupils remained in correspondence with him for years after they left school. That is particularly true of Zilpah Grant, colleague of Mary Lyon in three schools. Much of our information about Mr. Emerson comes from Miss Grant's letters.

After his death one pupil wrote of him:

“The government of his school was administered with affection and mildness, but yet with decision. Possessing the love and confidence of his pupils to an uncommon degree, those whose delinquencies subjected them to his reproof were conscious that a benevolent regard to their interest urged him to the performance of a most unwelcome duty, and they received his rebukes as they were given, with a spirit of kindness, and were more pained by the grief they occasioned their teacher than by the infliction of any penalty their fault might have incurred.”³⁵

Is it necessary to emphasize that teaching was a joy to Joseph Emerson? “He taught with all his soul,” said his brother. After an absence due to sickness he wrote, “To be able to return again to the business of instruction—business so delightful and profitable, seems like life from the dead.”³⁶ So great was his love of teaching, and so confident was he of its importance, that he continually talked of writing a book on the subject. As early as 1803, he wrote “About ten minutes ago I conceived the intention of writing a book upon education, for the public, and hope to finish it within twenty five or thirty years.”³⁷ In 1825 the book was still unwritten, and he said, “My greatest desire for living a few years longer, is, that I may write a volume containing the result of my experience, reading, and speculations upon the subject of education.”³⁸

34 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

35 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, p. 419.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 350.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

If this book had been written it would have included some of his ideas that many educators today think of as entirely modern. "Toys fraught with instruction,"³⁹ for little children. Geometric forms before the study of arithmetic. Teachers who should not be overworked: "Teachers will attend only one recitation in a half day, and thus will be able to make special preparations for the discharge of the important duty."⁴⁰ The government of the school: "A systematic and harmonious cooperation produces the most happy results."⁴¹ "Government is not over them, but in them."

"How little did he think," wrote his brother, that this book was to be written . . . on the living tablets of a thousand minds committed to his forming hand in the work of education:"⁴² So the great work begun by Joseph Emerson was continued by his many pupils, especially by the two best known, Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon.

39 Prospectus of Wethersfield Female Seminary, 1826.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 R. Emerson, *Life of J. Emerson*, p. 89.

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THE FIRST WIFE OF LIEUT.
GEORGE GARDNER OF SALEM AND HARTFORD

By G. ANDREWS MORIARTY,
A.M., LL.B., F.S.A., F. A. S. G.

By reference to "Thomas Gardner and Some of his Descendants" by the late Frank A. Gardner Esq. M.D. of Salem (pp. 28-40) it will be seen that Lieut. George Gardner of Salem, Massachusetts and Hartford, Connecticut, who died 20 Aug. 1679, the son of the first Thomas Gardner of Salem, was born prior to 1617, as he received a grant of land at Salem on 8, 9 mo. 1637. It further appears (ib. p. 34) that his second wife was Elizabeth (Allen) Stone, widow of the Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford, Connecticut, whom she had married, as his second wife, in 1641. Samuel Stone died at Hartford on 20 July 1663 (Savage, "Gen. Dic. of N. E. v. IV, p. 208) Thereafter, the widow Elizabeth married George Gardner (ib.). George Gardner died 20 Aug. 1679, and his widow, Elizabeth, shortly before 23 Jan. 1681/2 (Thomas Gardner pp. 34/5). After his marriage to Elizabeth Stone George Gardner removed, about 1673 to Hartford (ib. 29/30), so it is reasonable to suppose that their marriage took place shortly before this date.

The mother of George Gardner's children was his former wife, and there has been considerable doubt as to her identity. So far as I am aware there is no record which gives her name. Dr. Gardner has shown that she was certainly not Elizabeth, daughter of Deacon John Horne, and that the latter was undoubtedly the second wife of George's brother, Thomas Gardner Jr. (ib. pp. 34/5). It has also been stated that George Gardner had still another wife, a Mrs. Ruth Turner, widow of a John Turner, Sr., who died in Barbados in 1668. By reference to my two papers upon the Salem and Barbadian Turners in the Collections (v. XLVIII, pp. 263-74; v. XLIX, pp. 347-353), it will be seen that this statement is quite impossible and that there is no evidence that George Gardner had more than one wife, name not known, before he married Elizabeth (Allen) Stone.

By reference to my paper on the Freestone Family (New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg. v. 72, pp. 51-63; v. 74, pp. 140-43) it will be seen that Richard Freestone of Horn-castle, co., Lincs., woolen draper, had, among other children, three daughters Frances (bapt. 13 Oct. 1610), Anne (bapt. 12 Nov. 1615) and Elizabeth (bapt. 17 Oct. 1619), who came to New England, undoubtedly with their kinsman William Hutchinson of Alford, co. Lincs. Anne and Frances Freestone, "kinswomen of our brother William Hutchinson" were admitted members of the First Church at Boston on 9 Nov. 1634 and 28 Dec. 1634 respectively. (Pope's Pioneers, p. 176.) Elizabeth Freestone occurs in an entry in Letchford's Note Book late in 1640 or 1641. Frances married about 1637/8 Valentine Hill of Boston, merchant and Elizabeth married, about 1642, Robert Turner of Boston, shoemaker, by whom she had, among others, a son Capt. John Turner of Salem, who built the "House of Seven Gables." The fifth child of Capt. John Turner was a daughter Freestone, born at Salem 25 Oct. 1677, married 30 March 1699, Major Walter Price (Collections op. cit. v. XLVIII, p. 274). Concerning Anne Freestone, the third sister of Frances and Elizabeth, nothing is known beyond her admission to the Boston Church on 9 Nov. 1634.

The youngest child of Lieut. George Gardner was Ruth, bapt. 2, 2, 1665, married 22, 1 mo, 1674/5 Col. John Hathorne, the Witchcraft Judge (Thomas Gardner p. 40). Col. John Hathorne and Ruth (Gardner) his wife had issue thirteen children the youngest of whom, bapt. at Salem 26 Feb. 1698/9, was named *Freestone* (Perley's Hist. of Salem v. I, p. 284). It would seem, therefore, that Capt. George Gardner married, about 1643, Anne Freestone, the sister of Frances and Elizabeth. It may be further noted that Capt. John Turner had a brother Capt. Habakkuk Turner also of Salem, whose son, Robert, removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he married and had a numerous family. It is suggested that the cause of his removal to Connecticut was undoubtedly his connection with the family of Lieut. George Gardner. In this way we may now account for the third of Richard Freestone's daughters, who came to New England.



COL. NATHANIEL WADE, IPSWICH

From a silhouette in possession of the Essex Institute

NATHANIEL WADE AND HIS IPSWICH MINUTE MEN

BY HERBERT T. WADE

In the American Revolution there were engaged minor officers from New England quite unknown to fame or to military history whose services were not only of special usefulness to the cause but also possessed elements of interest at least to their descendants, especially to students and antiquarians.

Among these unsung soldiers Nathaniel Wade of Ipswich had a career of varied if not spectacular service. He commanded a company of Minute Men who responded to the Lexington Alarm, served in a Provincial Regiment, later included in the Continental Army, in the course of which he was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Siege of Boston, and the operations about Long Island, New York, and Westchester County. Then with service with Massachusetts State Troops in Rhode Island and on the Hudson River at West Point, he continued with militia organizations raised and maintained by that Commonwealth, as well as acting as mustermaster and in other capacities.

While the militia of the American Revolution acquired but little praise or appreciation for their efforts there were instances where they played a useful part and at times with conspicuous success worthy of commendation. Such a citizen soldier was Nathaniel Wade, born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, February 27, 1749/50, the son of Timothy Wade and Ruth Woodbury, daughter of Captain Robert Woodbury of Beverly. Timothy Wade born September 7, 1712, and died April 16, 1763, was the son of Captain Thomas Wade (1673-1737) and Elizabeth Thornton of Boston, while Thomas was the second son of an older Thomas (1651), who in turn was the third son of Jonathan, landed from the *Lion* out of London at Charlestown, September 16, 1632. In 1636 Jonathan Wade removed to Ipswich, becoming a large land owner in that growing plantation, where many of his descendants continued to live.

In the old Wade House now standing and facing the South Common at Ipswich, built in 1727 by Thomas Wade and acquired by Timothy Wade after his father's death was born Nathaniel, the sixth of seven children. He attended the village grammar school and in due course became a carpenter. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was 25 years old, active, unmarried, and enjoyed the respect of his fellow townsmen.

In 1774 it would appear that Nathaniel Wade was carrying on his trade of carpenter in Boston,¹ where unquestionably he associated with other young mechanics at various taverns and elsewhere at which current and violent discussions of contemporary political matters occurred. Obviously on his return to Ipswich from time to time his budget of news found willing ears as he was intensely interested in the cause of Liberty and against Royal oppression then so actively agitated. During 1774 the increase of the British garrison in Boston was a serious concern to its citizens and the attempts of the Royal Governor, Thomas Gage to enforce Acts of Parliament "For the Better Regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts" and "For the more impartial administration of justice in said province" passed May 20, 1774, met with hostility, as they were the culmination of arbitrary and restrictive measures adopted by the British Ministry.

From mere discussion and agitation matters soon developed to action and delegates from Worcester, Essex, and Middlesex counties met at Faneuil Hall, Boston to form a Provincial Congress, August 26-27, 1774. Here a Resolution was adopted, "That the military art, according to the Norfolk plan ought attentively to be practiced by the people of this province, as a necessary means to secure their liberties against the designs of enemies whether foreign or domestic." This so-called "Norfolk Plan" was incorporated in a pamphlet published in Boston in 1763 by Richard Draper entitled a "Plan of Exercise for the Militia of the Province of the Massachusetts; Extracted from the Plan of Discipline for the Norfolk militia."

¹ The only authority for this statement is an obituary notice in the Boston *Palladium* reprinted in the Salem *Gazette* of November 7, 1826.

Such a drill manual was now at the disposal of younger men who had not participated in the French and Indian Wars, and was used for the training of militia bands being assembled in the various Massachusetts towns. Furthermore Committees of Correspondence were formed at the more important towns which duly were related to the Provincial Congress. Under such circumstances the Colonial Militia system, developed and maintained from the earliest days for preservation against the Indians and other actual or putative enemies, now came under scrutiny. There resulted the organization of "Minnit Men," a term first used in 1756 to designate a military body organized and available for immediate service. The further development of such a system became prominent in 1774, as the Colonial Militia in many cases was officered by men of Royal sympathies who may have taken part in earlier wars.

Accordingly the Provincial Congress adopted a plan for the organization and maintenance of a militia where a quarter of those so enrolled were to be ready to assemble at the slightest notice and be known as minutemen. In addition the Provincial Congress appointed general officers, veterans of the French and Indian Wars and besides provided for a Committee of Safety with power to assemble the militia when circumstances made such action necessary.

A later drill manual for the training of troops known as "The Manual Exercise as ordered by his Majesty in 1764" was printed in 1774 at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, Boston. Provision also was made for collecting and issue of arms and munitions, though in most cases firearms of one kind or another, principally from former wars were brought out and listed.

At Ipswich as early as November 21, 1774, it was recognized that resort to arms was likely to occur, for at that time the Town voted permission to a number of subscribers to erect a building 50 feet long and 25 feet wide on land to the easterly end of the Town House where groups might meet "for the encouragement of military discipline." It was here during the cold winter of 1774-75 that the Ipswich companies of minute men were formed

and had their regular drill. In fact under date of December 26, 1774, there is an entry in the Town Records providing "A Committee contract with minute men who may enlist agreeably to proposal of the Provincial Congress."²

In such general discussions and activity prevailing in Ipswich during the autumn and winter of 1774-75 Nathaniel Wade as one of the leading young men was conspicuous, and took a prominent part in the organization and training of minutemen. These young and active men thus organized were entitled to choose their own officers in harmony with the democratic spirit of the people and the times rather than with any concern for military efficiency. Accordingly on January 24, 1775, Nathaniel Wade and his associates signed the articles of enlistment in the Provincial Service. This document from the original manuscript reads as follows:

"We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do voluntarily Inlist our selves, as Minute Men, to be ready for military operation, upon the shortest notice. And we hereby Promise & engage, that we will immediately, each of us, provide for & equip himself, with an effective fire arm, Bayonet, Pouch, Knapsack, & Thirty round of Cartridges ready made. And that we may obtain the skill of compleat Soldiers, We promise to Convene for exercise in the Art Military, at least twice every week; and oftener if our officers shall think necessary. And as soon as Such a Number shall be Inlasted, as the present Captain, Lieutenant, & Ensign, of ye Company of Militia shall think necessary, we will proceed to choose such Officers, as shall appear to them, & to ye Company to be necessary. The Officers to be chose by a majority of ye votes of the Inlasted Company, and when ye Officers are duly chosen, We hereby promise & engage, that we will punctually render all that obedience to them respectively, as is required by the Laws of this Province, or practiced by any well regulated Troops, And if any Officer or Soldier shall neglect to attend the time & place of exercise, he shall forfeit & pay the sum of two shillings Lawfull money for the use of ye Company, unles he can offer such an excuse to the Officers of ye Company as to them shall appear sufficient.

2 Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1834), page 148.

N.B. It is to be understood that when nine Company's of fifty Men Each are Inlisted, that then the said Officers of the Minute Company's Proceed to Choose their Field Officers, agreeable to the proposal of the Provincial Congress, Ipswich, Jan'y 24th, 1775.

Jeremiah Stanford, Junier	Joseph Hodgkins
Isaac Giddings	Aaron Perkins
Nathaniel Ross	Nath'l March
Nathaniel Treadwell	Francis Hovey
William Goodhue	John Graves, Jr.
John Stanwood	Francis Merrifield
in the Room of William	Jonathan Foster
Longfellow	Daniel Goodhue
Samuel Burnham	Jabez Farley
Stephen Dutch	Nathaniel Brown
Benjamin Heard	Nathaniel Wade
Philip Lord, Junior	Asa Baker
Benjamin Ross	Nath'l Southey
Michael Farley, Junior	James Fuller Lakeman
John Fowler	Jabez Ross Jun.
Samuel Lord, 5th	in Room of Jos'h Perkins
Henry Miller Jr	Thomas Bowman Junier
Joseph Appleton, Junior	Edward Stacey
William Dennis	Nathaniel Lakeman in the
Nathaniel Jewett	Room of Philp Lord
John Wastle	Abraham Knowlton, Junier
Nathanieal Rust, Junier	
Charles Lord	
Ephraim Goodhue	
Nathaniel Lord ye 3d.	
Benjamin Hurd	
Daniel L. Stone	
Isaac Stanwood	
John Fitts, Junier	
John Harris, 5	
Joseph Fowler, 3rd	
Jabez Sweet, Junier	
Thomas Appleton, Junier	
Kneeland Ross	
Ebenezer Lakeman in the	
room of John Waitt	
John Peters In the Room	
of Benjamin Ave	
Thomas Hodgkins in the Room	
of Jeremiah Stanford, Jr.	

This company of minutemen was one of five such units raised at Ipswich, and presumably organized and trained in the same fashion as similar groups in other Massachusetts towns developed under the direction of the Provincial Congress which now was holding regular meetings. As a leading spirit in the organization Nathaniel Wade was elected Captain and Joseph Hodgkins, shoemaker, was made First Lieutenant. Hodgkins at this time was 32 years old, or eight years older than Nathaniel Wade.

It was the practice in Massachusetts in the militia at this time for any one who could raise a company to be elected as its captain and for one who could get companies to serve under him to be made colonel of a regiment so formed. Subalterns likewise were elected. In the regular training of the minute men, as now carried on, the experience of veteran officers of the French and Indian Wars was utilized along with that of such militia officers as took their responsibilities more seriously.

As drill manuals there were available to a limited extent certain British military texts and for the Massachusetts militia Governor Hutchinson had reprinted in Boston *A Plan of Exercise for the Militia of the Province of Massachusetts*, which in turn was a reprint of the *Norfolk Discipline* written in 1757 for the militia of Norfolk County England. This manual in one form or another was considered to be the basis for the training of most of the New England militia and was adopted as such by Rhode Island. Timothy Pickering of Salem in 1775 published *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia*, adopted two years later for the Massachusetts Militia by the Council of that Province.

However in all works published for the use of the American Provincials British practice and usage prevailed and the King's Regulations as used in the Seven Years War were more or less familiar to the Colonials serving in that conflict. A much used and recommended summary credited to Edward Harvey, "The Manual Exercises as ordered by his Majesty in 1764 together with Plans and Explanations of the Method generally practised at REVIEWS and FIELD-DAYS", was printed in 1774 at Boston by T. & J.

A muster Roll of a Company of Vollonteers Inleested Into The Service of their Country for The Defence of the Just Rights and privilegedes Thereof. Belonging To the third Regiment of militia in the County of Essex under the Command of Colonel John Baker. Taken the 17 day of April 1775.

No.	mens Names	Distributions	No.	mens Names	Distributions
Inleast	Benjamin Averill Nathaniel Brown Samuel Burnham Stephen Dutch Jonathan Foster John Fowler, Jr. Joseph Fowler ye 3d. John Fitts, Jun. Isaac Giddinge Daniel Goodhue, Jun. William Goodhue, Jun. Epheraim Goodhue Francis Hovey Benjamin Heard John Harris ye 5th, Nathaniel Jewett Abraham Knowlton Philip Lord, Jr. Nathaniel Lord ye 3d. Charles Lord	John Peters		Samuel Lord ye 5th. James Fullar Lakeman Nathaniel Ross Benjamin Ross Nathaniel Rust, Jun. Jabez Ross, Jun. Jeremiah Staniford Henry Spillar Jabez Sweet, Jun. John Stanwood Isaac Stanwood Daniel Stone Nathaniel Southers Edward Stacy Nathaniel Treadwell John Waite Thomas Appleton James Smith Kneland Ross	Corpl. Asa Baker Do. John Graves, Jun. Do. Francis Merrifield Do. Joseph Appleton Drumer Nath'l March
5			25		
10			Inleast		Thomas Hodgkins, 7th
15			30		
			35		
Inleast		Nathl. Lakeman	Inleast		Ebenezer Lakeman
20					

Fleet at the Heart and Crown, and later editions were put out in Boston and again in Philadelphia.

Drilling and military instruction assiduously were practised in 1775 and various reports from Committees of Correspondence were circulated and digested by the various local officers. Furthermore in accordance with a Resolve of the Second Provincial Congress of February 14, 1774, the commanding officers of each regiment of minutemen formed or to be formed or of any separate companies were recommended to review their respective commands and make returns of their numbers and equipment to the next session of the Congress and colonels of militia regiments were urged to do likewise.

This session of the Provincial Congress legislated also in regard to munitions and equipment, and (February 9, 1774) empowered and directed the Committee of Safety "to assemble the militia whenever it was required to resist the execution of the two Acts, for altering the government and the administration of justice".

By this time there were appointed five generals to command such forces as might be assembled to oppose and resist certain Acts of Parliament for regulating the government and the administration of justice in the Province of Massachusetts. These two Acts and efforts for their enforcement were the chief political impetus to hostilities.

At Ipswich, Nathaniel Wade, now captain, was active and on April 17, 1774, was returned as captain of a company in Colonel J. Bakers Third Essex Regiment, doubtless a militia organization that did not function actively either in Provincial or Colonial service.

In the meantime the Provincial Congress was looking to the raising of a military force for any and all needs. On April 5, 1775, a committee brought in a Report³ giving in formal detail rules and regulations for the Massachusetts Army which adapted to the uses of the Colony Articles of War employed in the British Army.

At the April 8th meeting of the Provincial Congress it was resolved that it was necessary for the Colony to make

³ *Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 and of the Committee of Safety* (Boston, 1838), page 120.



COL. JOSEPH HODGKINS, IPSWICH

From a silhouette in possession of the Essex Institute

preparations for their security and defence by raising and establishing an army, and that delegates be appointed forthwith to repair to Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, informing them that "we are contemplating upon and determined to take effectual measures for that purpose; and for the more effectual security of the New England colonies and the continent, to request them to co-operate with us by furnishing their respective quotas for general defence".

In a more local or intimate sense it should be recalled that when the minuteman or militiaman was enlisted it was stipulated that each recruit should be provided with a musket and the necessary equipment. Each inhabitant from the early days of the settlement, generally speaking, was supplied with firearms, which by 1775 in addition was augmented by stores of arms and munitions available either locally or from a central source. In the main, however, the musket and accoutrements were the private property of the individual, and in the Revolution not a few muskets already had seen service with fathers and grandfathers in earlier wars.

The principal source of colonial firearms naturally was England, but the number of gunsmiths settling in the Colonies had even by this time resulted in an important industry, which by the outbreak of the Revolution had provided about one-third of the firearms used in the Colonies.

Unquestionably the minutemen were armed with weapons of very different types, but the military musket of the day approximated that used in the British Army and known as the "Brown Bess." The standard firearm of the period was a flint-lock musket which weighed about eleven pounds and was 4 feet 9 inches in length with a calibre of .75, taking a lead ball of eleven to the pound.⁴ Fired horizontally from the shoulder it had a range of about 125 yards and at 100 yards a good marksman could score 40 per cent of hits on a target the size of a man standing. In New England the rifle with its superior accuracy found little

⁴ Col. John W. Wright, U. S. A., *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Second Series, Vol. XI, No. 2, April 1931, "Some Notes on the Continental Army," Page 87. The foregoing is largely derived from this interesting monograph.

use compared with its employment by troops from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Southern Colonies, in whose hands it soon became a weapon to be feared by the British troops at the Siege of Boston and subsequently. The minutemen were perhaps better marksmen than the British Regulars, but the latter had superior training and excelled in fire discipline.

With such arms as they could provide themselves with, Captain Wade's minutemen worked assiduously at drill and training with more or less incidental discussion of political and other developments, and finally the call came on April 19, 1775, when the British marched from Boston to secure the Colonial stores collected at Concord and destroy them. To these Ipswich recruits as to other minutemen came the tidings of the British expedition as the alarm spread through Middlesex County and with conflicts at Lexington and Concord with loss of life, messengers departed in haste and scattered with their grim tidings through Eastern Massachusetts. Naturally such news produced a gathering of the minutemen throughout an ever widening countryside.

Already the Committee of Safety had received authority⁵ to mobilize the Colonial troops in view of any active measures to be taken by the British, and the response to the call, though more or less informal was spontaneous and immediate. Interesting as would be the description of the alerting and assembling of the Massachusetts minutemen comparatively little has survived in the way of definite orders and instructions from any central authority or the names of the messengers. Colonel Timothy Pickering who commanded a regiment of minutemen with headquarters at Salem, received word early on the morning of April 19 from Captain Epes of a Danvers company that the militia had been attacked at Lexington. Epes asked for orders, and was told to return to Danvers, assemble his company and march to the scene of hostilities without awaiting the assembling of the regiment. Captain David Mason commanding a Provincial artillery company also

⁵ *Journal of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 and of the Committee of Safety* (Boston 1838) page 89.

received the news of the departure of the British from Boston even earlier, and assembled his men at Salem and marched to the place of conflict, arriving in time to follow the Regulars on their retreat to Charlestown.

In other words, while the men of Essex County slept tranquilly the night of April 18th, it was well along in the following morning that the hard-riding messengers brought the news which caused the instant mobilization of the organized minutemen and militia. This apparently was done without definite orders to join other units or report to superior authority.

Suffice it to say that Captain Wade's company like other minutemen speedily assembled and that the Massachusetts Rolls indicate that 3763 men were collected from within 20 miles of the British line of march and actively were engaged on April 19. Captain Wade's company speedily assembled and advancing probably through Salem and Danvers, reached Mystic without coming into contact with the enemy but bivouacking there for the night. By whom such orders were given as well as those to return to Salem on the following day where they spent the night no records remains, though most of Colonel Pickering's regiment also went back to that town.

It has even been suggested that such a return in the case of certain companies was undertaken after a vote by their members, and no demand from the general officers of the Provisional Force who by this time were taking posts at or near Cambridge or Medford was forthcoming.

When Captain Wade's men marched back to Ipswich they were welcomed as the inhabitants had been thrown into excitement and a panic, subsequently known as the "Great Ipswich Fright". Due to the prompt response of the Ipswich minutemen at the Lexington Alarm the town was left with but few male inhabitants other than old men and boys hardly capable of resistance, should such an attack by British Regulars landing at Ipswich Beach, develop as rumor had it was imminent. This intelligence with exaggerated stories of the conduct of the British troops at Lexington produced widespread terror, as was also the case at Beverly, only a dozen or so miles away.

The record of Captain Wade's company at this time is shown on a muster roll in the Archives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.⁶ Here the men are credited with 88 miles of travel at 1 penny per mile or a total of 7 shillings and 4 pence, and three days service.

From the Archives of the
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Lexington Alarm Roll, April 19, 1775, Vol. 13, P. 157. 1775 A Muster roll of my Company of Minute men raised agreeable to the advice of the provincial Congress, marched from Ipswich the 19th day of April to Mistick—on the 20th ordered to Salem, on the 21st to Ipswich from thence to head quarters at Cambridge remained in the service as minute men till the 10th May.

Mens names.		At Time				Whole Am'o allowance
		Whole travel	ld per mile	of Service		
Nathaniel Wade,	Capt.	88 m	7/4	3 d		4 . 17 . 4
Joseph Hodgkins,	1 Lieut.	do	7/4	3 —		3 . 7 . 4
William Dennis,	2d do	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 19 . 10
Aaron Perkins,	Serjt.	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 3 . 4
Michael Farley, jr.	do	do	7/4	1 4		1 . 6 . 2
Jabez Farley,	do	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 3 . 4
Asa Baker,	Corpl.	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 0 . 4
John Graves, jr.	do	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 0 . 4
Fra's Merrifield,	do	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 0 . 4
Joseph Appleton,	do	do	7/4	3 —		2 . 0 . 4
Thomas Appleton,	Prv.	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Samuel Burnham,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Stephen Dutch,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Jonathan Foster,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
John Fowler, junr.	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Joseph Fowler, 3rd.,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
John Fitts, Junr.	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Isaac Giddings,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Daniel Goodhue, Junr.	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
William Goodhue,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Eph. Goodhue	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Fras. Hovey,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Benj. Heard,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
John Harris, 5th,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Nath. Jewett,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Abrah. Knowlton,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Nat. Lakeman,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Nat. Lord, 3d.,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Chas. Lord,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Sam. Lord, 5th,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4
Jas. Fuller Lakeman,	do	do	7/4	3 —		1 . 17 . 4

Mens names.	At Time				Whole Am'o allowance
	Whole	ld per	of	Service	
	travel	mile			
Nath. Ross,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Benj'a Ross,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Nath. Rust, jr.	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Jabez Ross, jr.	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Kneland Ross,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Thos Hodgkins, 4th,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Henry Spiller,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Jabez Sweet, Junr.	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
John Stanwood,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Isaac Stanwood,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Daniel Stone,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Nath. Souther,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Edw. Stacy,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
James Smith,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Nath. Treadwell, 3d.,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Eben. Lakeman,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Nath. March,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
John Peters,	do	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4
Thos. Bordman,	Serjt.	do	7/4	3 —	2 . 3 . 4
Nath. Brown,	Prv.	do	7/4	3 —	1 . 17 . 4

Errors Excepted Nat. Wade Capt. £101 . 15 . 2

Colony of Mass. bay Decem'r 30, 1775 Capt. Nathaniel Wade oath to the truth of the above roll by him subscribed according to the best of his knowledge.

Before Sam Holten Jus. peace thro the Colony. Examined and compared with the original

by Edward Rawson—Comm.

In council March 22d, 1776.

Read & allowed & ordered that a Warrant be drawn on the Treasury for £101. 15/2 in full of this Roll.

Norton D Secy.

Ipswich

Capt. Nath. Wades

Roll—Copy

£101:15:2

With more stable conditions developing towards the formation of a Colonial military force, Captain Wade's Company later was ordered to Headquarters now established at Cambridge, where they remained in this service as minutemen until May 10. Just where this command was located or when they reached Cambridge is difficult to ascertain. The First Lieutenant Joseph Hodgkins wrote to his wife on May 7, 1775, that he had received from her

at Watertown that morning a letter, and again on June 8th he wrote that they had got to Cambridge on June 6th.

This company on or about May 10th duly was enlisted into the service of the Province though Captain Wade and his fellow officers were not formally commissioned until later, in fact on June 26th, 1775, or after the Battle of Bunker Hill. Another company in the same regiment as that of Captain Wade, namely that of Captain Ezra Lunt, marched from Newburyport⁷ on May 10th, arriving at Cambridge on May 12th.

While at this time there is no mention of a regimental organization to include these two companies, the development of the Provincial Army was under consideration and organization and the Committee of Safety was alive to future activities as is recorded in their Journal for May 10th. In addition the following communication from the Chairman of the Committee of Safety was sent to the commanders of minute men in the outlying towns. The language is significant as it indicates an intention of an offensive action that is not elsewhere revealed. The order reads:

“In Committee of Safety, Camb, My 10, 1775

Sir:

As we are meditating a Blow against our restless Enemies—We therefor enjoin you as you would Evidence your Regard to your Country, forthwith upon the Receipt of this Order to repair to the Town of Cambridge with the Men enlisted under your command.

We are, etc.

Benja. Church, Junr.
Chairman”⁸

In connection with the general scheme of organization of a considerable Provincial Army it would seem that the usual militia practice was for companies from contiguous territory to be formed into a regiment. Or for a field officer to secure a number of companies whose captains would

⁷ “Diary of Paul Lunt,” *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol. XII, 1872, Pages 192-193.

⁸ Martyn *Life of Artemas Ward* (New York, 1921) Page 103; *Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 and of the Committee of Safety* (Boston 1838) page 541.

agree to serve under him as colonel. It early became evident that certain militia colonels or those of previous military experience were seeking to secure the requisite number of companies to make up a regiment and conversely company commanders often speaking also for the rank and file of their units, quite definitely might prefer some particular officer under whom they would serve.

At this time many of the old militia regiments were more or less disorganized, following the removal of their colonel by the Royal Governor, or where some colonels openly were Loyalists and their services had been dispensed with by the Provincial authorities. Furthermore certain new companies of minute men were independent either nominally or actually of any regimental connection.

Already on April 23, 1775 the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had voted to recruit 13,660 men for military purposes and it was now resolved further that an army of 30,000 immediately be raised for the defence of the Colony. This army was to be made up of volunteers and the men were to furnish their own arms and equipment but an allowance of a penny a mile was made for travel, and \$4.00 was allowed for an overcoat. On April 25th the Provincial Congress adopted a Resolution providing that the companies in each regiment be reduced from 100 men each to 59 men including three officers, and that each regiment be reduced to 10 such companies.

Captain Wade's Company was typical of the large number of men now arriving in and about Cambridge and using for billets or camp sites not only that town but neighboring villages, and of course taxing facilities for food and other supplies. But on April 25th all organizations were ordered to march to Cambridge and Roxbury in the attempt to develop a cohesive military centre at these strategic points where they might be called upon to resist an attack by the British Regulars or where under a common command they could be welded into an organized body capable of united action. Even in these first months a serious attempt was made in the way of drill and discipline in the American camp. In fact a private at the Cambridge lines

at this time wrote in his *Diary*,⁹ "The Army is employed thus, a large number is upon guard night and day; another party is upon fatigue or labour, & ye rest perform Duty on the Common from 10 o'clock to 12 o'clock & from 4 o'clock to sunset." While there is found no record of Captain Wade's Company on guard duty, Captain Lunt's men on May 16th had such a tour with 24 men.

The first available record of Captain Wade's service with his company is dated May 19, 1775, when there was prepared by Christian Febiger, Adjutant of Colonel Samuel Gerrish's Second Essex County Regiment.¹⁰

A return of Companies to whom is given listing orders by Colonel Samuel Gerrish:

Capt. William Rogers	Com. Effectives not all in	56
" Jacob Gerrish	— Not all in	56
" Richard Dodge	— Com—all in camp	56
" Wood	— Com—all in camp	56
" Dodge	Not all in	56
" Cogswell	Com. Effectives al in camp	65
" Warner	All in camp	57
" Benjn Perkins	All in camp	74
" Ezra Lunt	All in camp	63
" Thomas Mighill	Not all in	56
" Nathaniel Wade	Not returned	—
		595

Christian Febiger
Adjutant.

For reasons that seemed sufficient to Captain Wade and the other captains of the companies listed in the Second Essex County Regiment, or at least to a majority of them, there was a strong disinclination to serve under Colonel Gerrish and a pronounced preference to be under one Captain Moses Little who on the Lexington Alarm had marched in command of a company from Newbury. Little, a Surveyor of the King's Woods, was familiar with land not only in Massachusetts but in Maine, New Hampshire,

⁹ Original entry in *Diary of Joseph Merriam*, Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library, quoted by Martyn in *Life of Artemas Ward*.

¹⁰ Massachusetts State Archives, *Soldiers Orders, etc.*, Vol. 55, Page 53; *The Massachusetts Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 3, October, 1911, Page 222; *Lexington Alarms*, Vol. 13, Page 151.

A muster Roll of a Company of Volunteers
 Inducted into the service of their Country for
 the Defense of the just Rights and privileges
 thereof. Belonging to the Third Regiment of milt.
 in the County of Essex under the Command of
 Colonel John Baker; Taken the 17th Day of April 1775
 531 259

Capt. Nathaniel Maide ✓	531	Serjt. Aaron Perkins ✓	Capt. Asa Baptes ✓
Serjt. Joseph Hedgekins ✓		Serjt. Michael Farley ✓	Serjt. John Graves Jr. ✓
Ens. William Dennis ✓		Serjt. Thomas Boardman ✓	Daniel Marfield ✓
		Serjt. Jacob Farley ✓	Serjt. Joseph Appleton ✓
			Deacons, John March ✓

No	mens Names	Distributions	No	mens Names	Distributions
	John Benjamin, Towill ✓	John Piler ✓		Samuel Lord Jr. ✓	
	Nathaniel Burd ✓			James Fuller Captain ✓	
	Emuel Burnham ✓			Nathaniel Hys ✓	
	Stephen Dutche ✓			Benjamin Hys ✓	
5	Jonathan Hys ✓		25	Nathaniel Hys Jr. ✓	
	John Fowler Jr. ✓			John Hys Jr. ✓	
	Joseph Fowler Jr. ✓			Robert J. Hys ✓	Thomas Higginson ✓
	John Hys Jr. ✓			Denny Fuller ✓	
	Isaac Giddings ✓			Jacob Good Jr. ✓	
10	Daniel Goodhue Jr. ✓		30	John Hancock ✓	
	William Goodhue Jr. ✓			Isaac Hancock ✓	
	Ephraim Goodhue ✓			Daniel Stone ✓	
	Francis Gray ✓			Nathaniel Suther ✓	
	Benjamin Heard ✓			Edward Stacy ✓	
15	John Harris Jr. ✓		35	Nathaniel Swanwick ✓	
	Nathaniel Jewell ✓			Robert John Wade ✓	George Latham ✓
	Abraham Kinsland ✓			Thomas Appleton ✓	
	John Phillips Jr. ✓	John Latham ✓		James Smith ✓	
	Nathaniel Lord Jr. ✓			William Papp ✓	
20	Charles Lord ✓				

and Vermont, and had commanded a company from Newbury in the expedition against Louisburg in 1753.

Accordingly these Captains duly forwarded the following petition:

To the Honorable Committee of Safety for the Colony of
Massachusetts Bay

Gentlemen

We the Subscribers, being Captains of the Companies now enlisted in the Service of the Government have made Choice of Captain Moses Little to be our Chief Colonel, and Major Isaac Smith to be our Lieutenant Colonel, & have agreed that . . . shall be our Major. We beg that your Honors will be pleased to direct or recommend that the aforsed Persons may be commissioned as officers over us & your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Cambridge, May 25, 1775.

	No. of men
Joseph Gerish	59
Ezra Lunt	61
Nathl Warner	59
Abraham Dodge	70
Nathl Wade	59
Benjn Perkins	75
John Baker	59
	<hr/>
	422

N. B. Capt. Collins, Chairman of this meeting of choice has now a company of 59 men

422 in the whole 481¹¹

Inasmuch as six of these petitioners had been returned by Colonel Gerrish as his captains the Provincial Congress under date of June 2, 1775, appointed a committee to consider the matter¹² and ordered Colonel Gerrish to attend on the following day for a meeting. It was resolved that the petitioners apply to the Committee of Safety for a recommendation that Captain Moses Little be commissioned as a Colonel of a regiment in the Massachusetts Army.

¹¹ Frank A. Gardner, M. D., *Massachusetts Magazine*, Vol. IX, Jan. 1916, Page 18.

¹² *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, Page 292.

Accordingly the companies commanded by Captains Nathaniel Warner, Benjamin Perkins, Jacob Gerrish, Ezra Lunt, and Nathaniel Wade, were incorporated in a regiment to be commanded by Moses Little. This was a piece of good fortune for the company commanders and their men, as Colonel Gerrish's Regiment did not participate in the Battle of Bunker Hill, though a part under the Adjutant, Captain Christian Febiger arrived in time to be of service.

By now Colonel Little's Regiment and other companies had expressed their intention of entering the Provincial Service being organized, while the militia companies were returning to their homes. At any rate there is Lieutenant Hodgkin's authority for the statement that Captain Wade and his company reached Cambridge on June 6th and pitched their tents on the Common. This in the Lieutenant's opinion was preferable to the barracks employed to house the troops. The officers for the most part were in houses, but Captain Wade and Lieutenant Hodgkins for their part seemed pleased to be lodged in tents. By this time they were convinced of the seriousness of the situation and that they would not soon return to their homes. Like other companies they took their share of guard duty and on June 13th were posted down on Madam Inman's farm where they were "in plain site of the regulars".

Even with such service the uncertainty as to the formation of Colonel Little's Regiment continued and the officers definitely took up the matter with the Committee of Safety, which in the recess of the Provincial Congress was empowered to grant commissions to the officers. On June 13th Colonel Little and seven other colonels were ordered "to make a true return to the Committee of the claims and pretensions of the several gentlemen claiming to be commissioned as Colonels; of the number of Captains with their respective companies, do choose to serve under the above named gentlemen as Colonels; and of the number of efficient firearms in each company and of the place or places where said companies are; and pain of forfeiting all

pretensions to a commission as Colonel, in case of making a false return".¹³

Accordingly the Committee passing on the claims and returns submitted, recommended and ordered that commissions as Colonels in the Massachusetts Army be issued to Colonels Glover, David Brewer, Woodbridge, Little and Jonathan Brewer. That portion of the report dealing with Colonel Little and his regiment was as follows:¹⁴

"That the said Little has raised eight companies according to General Ward's return, amounting inclusive of officers, to the number of 509 men who choose to serve under him as their chief Colonel; and all the said men are armed with good effective firelocks, and 382 of them with good bayonets, fitted to their firelocks; and that seven of the said companies are at a camp in Cambridge, and one company at Cape Ann, by order of the Committee of Safety."

On this same date, June 15, 1775, Colonel Little reported as follows:

"To the Honorable Provincial Congress of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

May it please your honours Agreeable to your Resolve of the 13th Instant I hereby make a Return of the several Companies hereafter named as returned by me.

Captain Jacob Gerrish, 1 Captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 2 fifers, 45 privates, in Cambridge.

Captain Abraham Dodge 1 Captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 fifes, 59 privates, in Cambridge.

Captain Ezra Lunt, 1 Captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 2 fifers, 45 privates, in Cambridge.

Captain Benjamin Perkins, 1 Captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 2 fifers, 59 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Nathaniel Wade, 1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 51 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Nathaniel Warner 1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 fifer, 47 privates. In Cambridge.

¹³ *Journals of Provincial Congress*, Page 327.

¹⁴ *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, Page 339.

Captain John Baker, 1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 2 fifiers, 47 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain James Collins 1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 46 privates. In Gloucester by order of the Committee of Safety.

Captain Gideon Parker, 1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 57 privates. All ready to march from Ipswich by credible Information.

Totals 9 Captains, 13 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 36 sergeants, 36 corporals, 9 drummers, 14 fifiers, 456 privates.

Total number of men 582.

Moses Little, June 15, 1775.

The organization of the Massachusetts Army was complicated by the fact that in the Colonial Militia there was no standard strength either in the number of companies in a regiment or total number of men. This of course interfered with brigade organization when troops were assembled for joint activities, as in computing road space on a march or a line of battle, not to mention various logistic and tactical questions. In fact this was illustrated also in the English service of the 17th and 18th centuries and particularly in the regiments sent to America in the French and Indian Wars.¹⁵

But matters of organization now were being attacked if in no way solved, and a more formal and orderly arrangement of the Colonial Army was effected. The right wing commanded by General John Thomas, was located at Roxbury, while the Rhode Island forces under General Nathaniel Greene were at Jamaica Plain together with the greater part of General Spencer's Regiment of Connecticut troops. The centre of the army was stationed at Cambridge where General Artemas Ward's headquarters were located. This consisted of 15 Massachusetts regiments, Colonel Gridley's Battalion of Artillery in process of organization, and the regiment of General Israel Putnam along with other Connecticut troops most of which were at Inman's farms. The total strength of the troops at Cambridge on July 9, 1775,

¹⁵ See Col. J. W. Wright, U. S. A., "Some Notes on the Continental Army," *William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Second Series, Vol. XI, No. 2, (April, 1931), Page 81.

was returned as 7644 privates. Little's Regiment about 400 men.

A part of Colonel Little's Regiment, Captain Gerrish and Captain Perkins companies, were said to be located at the Tavern in West Cambridge, Colonel Patterson's Regiment was near Prospect Hill, where was posted a large guard which included Captain Lunt's Company of Little's Regiment as already mentioned. The left wing of the army consisted of three companies of Gerrish's Regiment at Chelsea, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment at Medford, and Colonel James Reed's New Hampshire Regiment at Charlestown Neck with sentinels reaching to Penny Ferry across the Mystic River and to Bunker Hill in Charlestown.

Passing to Captain Wade and his company there was now a regular routine of guard, drill, and camp administration. Lieutenant Hodgkins in a letter of June 13th wrote that while living involved considerable cash, conditions in the main were satisfactory and doubtless these officers enjoyed maintaining the appropriate standard of living suitable to their rank. Inevitably the costs of food and other supplies increased as the vast numerical strength of the army developed in a community taken quite unprepared for such a change.

The interest of officers and men naturally was aroused as rumors began to circulate as to the increase of General Gage's force in Boston especially with the British outposts in plain sight of the American sentinels. Colonel Little's officers, it may be said, by this time had not been commissioned, but were taking part in the regular duties of the Army and making friends among the officers of their own and other regiments.

In the meantime the Committee of Safety decided to fortify Bunker's Hill to anticipate its occupation by the British, and on June 16th orders were issued for Prescott's, Frye's, and Bridges' regiments and a fatigue party of 200 Connecticut troops under Captain Thomas Knowlton of General Putnam's Regiment with all the entrenching tools available in the Cambridge camp to assemble at 6 P.M. equipped with packs and blankets and provisions

for 24 hours. Col. William Prescott of Pepperell was in command of this detachment of an estimated strength of 1200, and Col. Richard Gridley as chief engineer accompanied the party. Arriving at Charlestown work was at once begun on the construction of a breastwork on Breeds Hill nearer to Boston in place of Bunker's Hill as originally determined. This had attained a height of six feet by daylight of the following morning, when it was discovered by the British fleet and fired upon by the 20-gun ship *Lively* and later by a battery on Copp's Hill, Boston.

At headquarters in Cambridge provision for the relief of Colonels Prescott, Frye, and Bridges was made in General Orders and Colonels Nixon, Little, and Mansfield were ordered to assemble their regiments with two days' provisions and ammunition and march to Charlestown.¹⁶

In Boston the crisis was reached when the British command decided to land troops for a frontal attack on the American fortifications which were nearing completion, and accordingly men and field pieces were transported across the harbor in boats and barges under the protection of the fleet.

Meanwhile at Cambridge as soon as British activity became known all troops in the camp were assembled and orders speedily transmitted to the various adjutants so that adequate resistance to attack could be prepared and additional forces moved up to Charlestown. Some nine regiments were ordered forward by General Ward between 12 and 1 o'clock.¹⁷ Connecticut troops also were ordered forward and more extended positions were occupied including the rail fence which extended to the shore of the Mystic River.

Portions of various Massachusetts regiments arrived at the front with varying degrees of organization, and Colonel Little's command though not fighting as a unit seems to have been on the firing line by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Undoubtedly there was considerable confusion in forwarding reinforcements from Cambridge and assigning arriving troops to positions. Certain companies unquestionably

¹⁶ Martyn, *Life of Artemas Ward*, (New York, 1921) Page 125.

¹⁷ Martyn, *Life of Artemas Ward*, Page 131.

advanced independent of any regimental organization and an utter absence of complete or even reasonably adequate American official records indicates clearly how lacking was elemental staff work and proper responsibility of command at this time.

Colonel Little's Regiment advancing from Cambridge on the morning of June 17th under such orders as those cited, or perhaps with a desire for active service permeating all ranks, marched across the Neck to Charlestown. This included the companies not on detached service.¹⁸

Already they had tendered their services to General Ward and at least three companies: Warner's, Perkins' and Wade's, all of whom suffered casualties reported to take positions where most needed. Warner's men went to the rail fence lining the road or cartway on the right of the redoubt where of 23 men present 17 were either killed or wounded, Perkins' Company also went to the right of the redoubt, while Captain Wade's men went to the rail fence on the left. Here the Americans resisted the repeated onsets of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry companies which suffered savage and unprecedented losses as they advanced only to be driven back under a devastating fire from the Colonists. Notwithstanding there was no great homogeneity in the organization of the defenders, yet under the direction of veteran officers good fire discipline and marksmanship were maintained.

The rail fence was not gained by the British until the Americans withdrew about 6 o'clock after those in the redoubt without ammunition were forced to retire. Colonel Little's men joined the other Americans in the retreat across the Neck to Cambridge in a movement that was in no sense a rout or a stampede, but was sufficiently covered to prevent any pursuit by the British. In this the Americans who came onto the field late performed a most useful service, and the fact that but 31 prisoners were taken in the action indicates how well fought and well ordered was the retreat after the powder was exhausted.

Lieutenant Hodgkins wrote of this battle¹⁹ "as a very

¹⁸ Collins' at Gloucester, Parker's at Ipswich, and Lunt's at Lechmere Point.

¹⁹ Hodgkins Letter of June 23, 1775.

hot engagement," . . . "We were exposed to a very hot fire of cannon and small arms about two hours but we were preserved. I had one ball went under my arm and cut a large hole in my coat and a buck shot went through my coat and jacket but neither of them did me any harm."

A corporal in Captain Wade's company, Francis Merrifield, also of Ipswich, in later life was quoted as saying in reference to the Battle of Bunker Hill and the British²⁰ "When we got so near them we could fairly see them they looked too handsome to be fired at; but we had to do it".

On the night of the battle the American forces retired to Winter Hill and Prospect Hill, where the companies often widely scattered and separated during the battle were again united in regimental organizations and took up definite and assigned positions. Here they were at once ordered to construct earthworks on Prospect Hill a dominating situation where later a strong fortified position on the left of the American Army was developed during the Siege of Boston.

Captain Wade and his men now became thoroughly initiated into that important feature of military service, namely the construction of intrenchments for defence, and while there was an alarm on the day after the battle, the more usual duty now was with the pick and shovel at Prospect Hill.

Colonel Little's Regiment moved to Winter Hill on June 19th in anticipation of an enemy attack, withdrawing to Cambridge for two days on June 23rd. The organization of military duty and administration became more adequately developed and enforced as noted in General Orders of June 21st when General Ward directed that commanding officers of regiments, detachments, and companies should make complete returns of the numbers in their respective regiments detachments, and companies fit for duty, absent on furlough, deserted, sick, killed and wounded in the late engagement, and missing upon account thereof.

Mention might be made of a duty for Captain Wade that began to figure more importantly in his service namely acting on regimental courts martial which were being held

20 Uriah Spofford, *Reminiscence of Ipswich*.

to enforce discipline for offences of minor character. At the same time discipline was tightened for all and the colonels and officers of regiments were ordered not to desert their posts and to use their utmost endeavors to prevent their soldiers from doing the same. All possible military precautions were ordered taken to prevent surprise or attack.

In Little's Regiment an important event for Captain Wade and his fellow officers was the action of the Third Provincial Congress on June 26th when it was "Ordered that Commissions be delivered to the officers of Col. Little's regiment agreeable to a list recommended by the Committee of Safety". Here a colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, ten captains, and twenty lieutenants duly were commissioned and the command was designated as the 17th Provincial Regiment. later under the new establishment of January 1, 1776, becoming the 12th Continental Foot. On this date, June 26, 1776 accordingly was commenced Colonel Moses Little's Orderly Book which is still in existence,²¹ and that of Captain Wade was begun two days later of which the manuscript is still available for reference.

The maintenance of the Orderly Book by the company commander seems to have been required under the regulations or prevailing practice and General Orders as well as those of brigade or regimental commander were duly inscribed and communicated to the company. Such orders from the adjutant were usually copied by one of the sergeants into the Captain's book. Reference to these General Orders as thus recorded indicates clearly the development of military discipline and in particular shows in detail the organization of the Left Wing of the American forces at and about Prospect Hill where Captain Wade and his company were now encamped.

Guard duty in which Captain Wade frequently was officer of the guard or officer of the day, was assiduously and formally prescribed. There was fatigue duty and drill for

²¹ Sections of this book are to be found in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the Essex Institute. Captain Wade's Orderly Book has been preserved by his descendants.

two hours morning and afternoon for the troops and continuous daily inspection of arms and munitions. In short discipline was being enforced rigidly and every night visiting rounds were sent out to see that all sentries were at their posts and alert. Health of the troops was beginning to receive attention with smallpox and other illness developing and demanding attention. The Committee of Safety recommended the proper organization of military, intelligence and the prompt transmission of orders to the various units from the headquarters.

While Captain Wade was not immediately concerned with staff work as such, his part in the development of discipline and efficiency was that of every company officer. One rather obvious defect of the situation at this time was that those in the higher commands were, or had been, fighters rather than competent administrators, as was shown by the large number of officers killed and wounded at Bunker Hill and the delay in bringing organization and discipline to the Provincial Troops.

The advent of General Washington on July 2nd marked the taking over by the Continental Congress of these Colonial Forces by Resolution of June 15th and the formation of a Continental Army²² in which the Massachusetts Army was now merged, and the duty and responsibility of such an organization as that in which Captain Wade served clearly was indicated. From minutemen, militia and volunteers an army of troops from the various colonies must be formed for the immediate investment of Boston and such future offence or defence as might be required.

While there were occasional clashes of outposts and further construction of defences in anticipation of attack by the British the duty of such an officer as Captain Wade now became largely routine, but brought about his development as a competent leader. Withal there was a broadening of interests and activities particularly for a country carpenter, involving as it did a marked transformation from his ordinary and previous life. In fact in the New England of that day except for ship-captains and their

²² *Journal of the Continental Congress*, Vol. II, Pages 90-111.

crews there was afforded to an individual little opportunity for the handling or control of bodies of men. Individuality was the rule in a democratic spirit which was reflected in the military organizations where privates elected their officers.

Now that a compact organization with the responsible correlation of rank and command was required in the interest of discipline and leadership, the conditions were at least novel both to company officers and men in the ranks, most of whom looked on one another as social equals. With military discipline went not only obedience but such customs of the service, borrowed more or less from the British Army and followed and handed down by Colonial officers who had served in the French and Indian Wars but such practices were only mildly reflected in the periodic drills and exercises of the peacetime militia.

The characteristic features of New England life, did not lead to the same discipline as was observed in the troops from the South now coming to Cambridge. General Washington after his taking command noted that too many of the New England officers "were nearly of the same kidney as the privates".²³ In an army such a spirit of democracy was apt to work badly, but there were among the officers of the Colonial troops many who could make it work and of these Captain Wade was one.

However, this assumption of military responsibility and the development of ability to exercise command and leadership efficiently and with firmness naturally involved a certain social and personal readjustment, for Captain Wade was typical of the citizen of the small town, where few of the farmers or craftsmen pretended to the rank and manners of those who in Boston, Salem, and larger places considered themselves as gentry.

Captain Wade at Cambridge with his two lieutenants, Joseph Hodgkins and Aaron Perkins, lived in a tent and with other officers enjoyed a mess at which enlisted men from their regiment served as waiters. On picket, outpost duty, or other details they met officers from adjoining regiments, perhaps from other colonies than Massachusetts,

23 *Writings of Washington*, (Boston, 1838), Vol. III.

and in a community of service or in social amenities their horizons were broadened and their acquaintance enlarged.

Unlike the field or general officers they had apparently little knowledge of strategic or political conditions and for such company officers little is recorded as to their ideas and opinions in such fields, though unquestionably they were firm and unswerving in their belief in the right and righteousness of the patriot cause and the necessity of the use of military force to uphold it. Nevertheless there was beginning to be a trend towards an appreciation of the need and justice of military discipline, though occasional infractions were recorded during this formative period.

Thus in Colonel Little's Regiment Captain Benjamin Parker was charged before a court martial of forcibly taking one of his own men from the quarter guard by whom he had been apprehended and confined. The officers from Southern colonies coming to Cambridge looked down upon such officers as were artisans or farmers, particularly when they practised their trade in the camp, as did Captain Wade's lieutenant Joseph Hodgkins a shoemaker from Ipswich who made footwear for his fellow officers.

While the lessons of military discipline may have come slowly to the American troops assembled about Boston, and especially to the rank and file from New England, yet it came to be recognized that efficient military service must involve an organized body capable of acting cohesively as a unit and in response to orders, not merely taking a position behind a tree or a wall as in Indian warfare or as was done so decisively on the day of Concord and Lexington. Problems of munitions, supplies, and transportation had to be solved not merely for fighting but for existence under a given or even an unforeseen condition or occasion.

With the constant examination of troops' arms came the matter of an adequate supply of muskets and where these were lacking appropriate firearms had to be delivered to the respective colonels for their men.

General Orders of July 4th marked the transformation under the Continental Congress of the army as "the troops of the United Provinces of North America; and it is to be hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so

that one and the same spirit may animate the whole. and the contest only be, who shall render in this great and trying occasion, the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged."

One of the first concerns of General Washington was to secure adequate personnel returns of the army distinguishing those who were sick, wounded, or absent on furlough, together with the quantity of ammunition of each regiment, according to such return on July 3, 1775, the American Army comprised 35 regiments with a total strength of 16,770 including 1119 commissioned officers and staff, 1768 non-commissioned officers, and 13,743 privates present and fit for duty.

The Army was now arranged in three grand divisions, each consisting of two brigades of twelve regiments comprising, so far as practicable troops from the same colony. The Right Wing was under Major General Artemas Ward with headquarters at Roxbury, The Centre commanded by General Israel Putnam with headquarters at Cambridge; and the Left Wing under Major General Charles Lee who had come on July 2d with General Washington. Under General Lee was Brigadier General Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island who was stationed at Prospect Hill where was Colonel Moses Little's Regiment with Captain Wade; and Brigadier General John Sullivan who had succeeded General Folsom in command of the New Hampshire troops.

The entire American Army now was living in daily expectation of attack by the enemy and emphasis was laid on guard and sentry duty with due vigilance enjoined on all officers, sentries and guards. Colonel Little and Captain Wade had their share of outpost and other guard duty. Each morning an orderly sergeant was sent to the general's headquarters to receive orders and the drumbeat was to announce when orders for the regiment were to be given. For the outposts it was ordered that no man who was not a native of the country or had a wife and family to whom it was known he was attached should be placed on such a post.

On July 9th, 1775, General Greene's Brigade included

the Rhode Island regiments of Colonels Varnum, Hitchcock, and Church (1085), and the Massachusetts regiments of Colonels Whitcomb, Gardner, John Brewer, and Little (1713), the last named reporting a strength of 472. The field music had its daily functions throughout the camp and such calls as the "troop" (the modern assembly) and "retreat" were regular features, and each evening the arms and ammunition of every company were ordered inspected.

One rather unusual occasion in the daily routine was on July 20th, a day appointed by the Continental Congress as a day of public humiliation and prayer, which the General ordered to be observed religiously and all officers and soldiers not on duty were urged to attend Divine Service at the accustomed places of worship taking with them their arms and ammunition and accoutrements so as to be prepared for immediate action if called upon. In the development of a military spirit distinguishing marks were ordered and especially for the aides of the generals and the brigade majors who were to wear a green ribbon so as to be recognized promptly when bearing orders or at other functions.

At this time the New England regiments about Boston followed in their organization the same practice as in the French and Indian Wars which was essentially that of the British Army where the first, second, and third companies were commanded by the colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major (usually called the sergeant major) respectively, the fourth company by the first captain (hence the name "the first captain's company"), the fifth company by the second captain and so on. In the eighteenth century in America the first lieutenant of each of the first three companies was often called the captain's lieutenant, and drew a captain's pay, and commanded the company when the field officers were occupied with the regimental or battalion duties of their rank.

At the outbreak of the Revolution certain regiments in the Massachusetts Militia and Provincial Forces were known by the names of their colonels although the latter were general officers also, and when acting as such the regi-

mental command devolved on the lieutenant colonel. Thus there were the regiments of Ward, Spencer, Thomas, Heath, and Putnam, though at this time all of them were general officers. However there was no uniform practice and with the permanent organization of the American Army soon to come to Cambridge, and the same held true for the reorganized militia of Massachusetts and the other colonies, honorary or titular command was abolished and actual regimental or company officers with appropriate rank were assigned to their respective duties in the different organizations.

With the Provincial Forces already formed into three wings as related, General Washington without waiting for instructions from the Continental Congress now organized the Army into three grand divisions along the prevailing lines, with each division divided into two brigades, and the Left Wing as stated was commanded by Major General Charles Lee. This division in which Captain Wade's company was included was posted at Prospect Hill and Winter Hill, and embraced the brigades of Brigadier General Sullivan of New Hampshire and that of Brigadier General Greene of Rhode Island, the latter made up of regiments from that colony and Massachusetts including Colonel Little's Regiment, at first omitted but later specified in the Orders of July 23rd.

Now came further orders for badges for officers (General Orders, July 23, 1775). To distinguish the major generals from the brigadier generals the former would wear a broad purple ribbon, and these marks as well as those of aides and brigade majors green ribbons would ensure their not being stopped by sentries. The field officers were to wear red or pink cockades in their hats, captains yellow or snuff color, and subalterns green. Sergeant-majors and sergeants would wear an epaulet or strip of red cloth on the right shoulder and corporals one of green. At the various defensive posts spears 13 feet in length with a substantial shaft were provided, while fascines were to be placed to stop up entrances to the respective redoubts. At each entrance a wide deep ditch was cut and a bridge of planks laid across it.

By July 25th the General had made plans for the defense of Prospect Hill, with Colonel Varnum's Regiment in the right hand redoubt, Colonels Church's, Hitchcock's, and Mansfield's the main body of the lines, Colonel Little's Regiment the curtain of communication in one line or rank entire, and Colonel John Brewer's the left-hand redoubt commonly called the French Fort. Should Colonel Little's Regiment be in danger of being forced of which there was little chance, they were to retire into the main body of the line by the back way of the pickets in the rear passage.

Covering for the troops was provided by College and other buildings used as barracks together with tents, for which shipments of canvas from seaport towns were utilized as a shortage developed. But with every evidence of a protracted siege and approaching cool weather it was essential that the troops should be housed adequately, and coverings of boards built in the form of barracks were being provided. Furthermore a large dwelling was turned into a hospital and the surgeons were ordered to be diligent at sick call inspections and provide for those ill.

The importance of outpost vigilance continued to be stressed and officers and men were held to strict accountability for alertness. The front lines were being improved constantly with spears and gabions provided, the former kept greased and placed at convenient points. However, one of the more serious breaches of discipline was the more or less random firing of cannon and small arms from the front lines accomplishing little of advantage beside alarming the guard and wasting much needed ammunition.

Captain Wade by now had received muskets for his company where needed, and by a system of exchange attempts were made to secure greater uniformity of arms and ammunition among the various regiments. Except for several outpost actions such as an attack on the British advance guard at Brown's house on Boston Neck on July 8th and the capture of the lighthouse at Nantasket on July 31-August 1st where 53 of the enemy were taken prisoner or killed. Again the British landed on the afternoon of August 8th landed from barges and burned the ferry-house at Penny Ferry on Mystic River but were

driven off. The enemy seemed anxious to get to Plowed Hill and to forestall this a large pocket guard was maintained for its protection. At this time the riflemen, mostly from the Southern colonies, were a distinct annoyance to the British as they sought to pick off their officers, and thus established a wholesome respect for their skill as marksmen.

General Orders now prescribed the ration of provisions authorized by the Continental Congress, and apparently the Colonists were faring much better on this score than the British Regulars in Boston whose supplies were most meager. Also an attempt was made by the Provincial authorities to provide adequate clothing with an effort to secure some uniformity, particularly by the issue of a hunting-shirt, blankets, and boots.

With both musket and artillery fire exchanged between the lines care continued to be taken to conserve powder and shot in view of limited American supplies of such ammunition, but much of such firing was without serious effect and the Americans gradually became used to the cannon balls, some of which were returned from their own guns. There were continued details to fatigue and guard duty, in which Colonel Little's Regiment had its full share, but in the latter field General Greene found the men of his brigade "very negligent of their duty to the great disgrace and danger of ye camp". Such a condition in the General's opinion sprang more from negligence than ignorance and he was determined for the future to have every sentry who was not alert on his post put under guard and every officer who neglected his duty put under arrest. The vigilance of both officers of the guard and sentries was enjoined as well as silence and proper conduct on post and in the guardhouse. Sentries at outposts, home guards, and guardhouse were to be held to soldierly conduct, and field officers of the guard and grand rounds were to make regular and surprise visits to see that everything was in good order.

The defences were being constantly improved and on August 27th "a gallery or ditch at Plowed Hill was ordered cut through which the men might pass safely to the

trenches". This involved releasing "the guard for the hill a little after sunset and 500 men from Prospect Hill and 300 from Winter Hill with a colonel in command and fifty riflemen specially detailed for this duty."

By the end of August activity of the British on Bunker Hill was apprehended and Colonel Brewer's Regiment was ordered to be held in readiness to march at a minute's warning as a picket for the support of Plowed Hill and a sergeant was posted in the Citadel to give first notice of any movement on Bunker Hill. Further reinforcements for Plowed Hill were now ordered from General Heath's Brigade and from the Cambridge brigades and surgeons with instruments and dressings were ordered to go forward with the various reliefs on Plowed Hill.

It is interesting at this time to note that Colonel Little's Regiment moved their camp on September 4th, from Cambridge to Prospect Hill where they occupied permanent quarters throughout the winter and in fact until they marched for Providence on April 1st of the following year.

The summary of the General Orders of the Army are derived not only from the actual Orderly Books of Captain Wade when available, but also from similar records of his regimental commander and the generals issuing them. They enable one to realize the condition and work of the American Army at this formative period and afford an interesting background of Captain Wade's service which failing the preservation of adequate documentary and biographical data enable the reader to supply from such quotations a picture of the camp life and development at this time at Cambridge. It is revealed that Captain Wade's Company continued during the autumn in good health and as in the case of the Army in general saw little activity outside of details to picket and outpost duty. This was well summed up in a letter of Lieutenant Hodgkins of September 8th, 1775, when he wrote:—

"The enemy have not fired a gun nor sent a Bum at our People since I have Ben hear Except a few small armes at our People Who went Down on Charlston Common after sum hoses this was a wensday But at night about 10 oclock the Rifel men tuck three hoses without Receiving any harm".

On September 9th General Orders assigned Colonel Little to the command at Plowed Hill, and General Greene ordered that no field officer of his brigade should lodge out of their respective camps on any pretext whatsoever. During these months the guard was mounted with considerable formality and each regiment furnished its detail which proceeded to the Grand Parade, and then the various detachments were marched down to the main guard which duly was relieved and the sentinels posted. Here at the main guard there was a guardhouse and the *Diary* of Lieutenant Jabez Fitch, Jr., states that on September 8, 1775, he spent some time with Captain Wade and the other officers of the guard. Lieutenant Fitch, who was in Colonel Huntington's Eighth Connecticut Regiment, then stationed at Roxbury, goes on to say²⁴ that he was in charge of the redoubt where he was posted until three o'clock in the afternoon when he was relieved by another subaltern and returned to the guardhouse. This was typical of such guard duty as Captain Wade had with the manning of various outposts, either redoubts or other advanced fortifications where sentries were placed to observe similar outposts and sentries of the British. In this duty officers of the guard from different regiments had opportunity to become acquainted with one another and to realize that all were part of a common army and united in a common cause.

Quoting again from Lieutenant Fitch's *Diary*, "We marched down to the main guard house where we relieved the old guard. I went with Lt. Parker of Col. Brewer's regt to the redoubt, spent some time with him and return'd to the guard house spent some time with Capt. Wade and other officers of the guard, and then I took charge of the redoubt myself where I was posted until 3 o'clock in the after noon when I was relieved by another subaltern and returned to the guard house, drank some brandy, and Cudilla²⁵ bro't me some dinner".

Captain Wade's frequent detail to guard duty naturally warrants reference to this phase of military activity, rang-

²⁴ *Proceedings, Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 21, Page 54, May, 1894.

²⁵ Obviously a waiter. Ed.

ing as it did all the way from outposts and pickets to prevent surprise or enemy attacks, to interior guards necessary to the proper discipline of the camp itself. Such duty had not been considered of prime importance in the training of the Provincial Militia and minutemen, but once an army was organized it was indeed a serious and vital matter of protection and as such it figured in all systems of regulations and tactics of the British and other European armies of the times. The entire front must be covered to note any activity of the enemy headquarters and magazines must be adequately protected, the rear and all means of access to the camp safeguarded, and lastly the entire encampment and that of every regiment or other unit made secure against breaches of order, desertion, or access to it of unauthorized persons. For the guard each military unit was called upon daily for its appropriate quota of officers and men. The whole guard was under the direction of the officer of the day, with an adjutant of the day and field officers of the day as required.

At Cambridge with several divisions and with major operations later in the war, there was a major general of the day and field officers in command of the various distributions of the guard. The Adjutant General in General Orders would specify the officers and number of men detailed for this duty evenly distributed among the various regiments and companies. In addition to the main guard there were brigade and regimental guards with officers of the day and of the guard in command. In short, guard mount was an important and formal military ceremony and rules and regulations as developed at Cambridge became standard for the entire army, being specified in General Orders by General Washington on February 27, 1776.

In general the discipline of the American Army was enforced under the provisions of the Articles of War and appropriate courts-martial provided thereunder. Earliest were the "Rules and Regulations for the Army" adopted by the Provisional Congress of Massachusetts April 5, 1775, followed by the Articles of War enacted by the Second Continental Congress, June 30, 1775, based fundamentally on the British Mutiny Act. Here were estab-

lished General Courts-Martial dealing with charges against commissioned officers and capital crimes, and Regimental Courts-martial for offences in a particular command where sentence must be confirmed by the commanding officer. Captain Wade frequently was detailed as a member of both types of court, though more often the latter where he frequently might act as its president.

The Cambridge encampment included various types of tents, barracks, and huts, with varying equipment among the organizations of the different colonies. With the delivery of the Continental commissions the Army became even more closely integrated. Such commissions if delivered to Captain Wade and Lieutenant Hodgkins among other officers do not seem to have been preserved and such documents do not figure in a number of large historical collections of the American Revolution, although those of the following year are available in considerable numbers.

Camp life at Cambridge apparently did not agree with Captain Wade though his company in the main experienced good health. On September 27th he secured sick leave and in company with Thomas Hodgkins, Quartermaster of the regiment, returned to Ipswich, where he remained in poor health until the latter part of December, leaving Lieutenant Joseph Hodgkins in command of the company. Captain Wade was doubtless able to take part in recruiting as the new Continental Army dating from January 1, 1776 was being enlisted.

Colonel Little's Regiment continued to supply the regular details for guard and fatigue duty in addition to the daily routine of drill, and the construction of barracks was prosecuted in earnest as cold weather approached. The officers of Little's Regiment continued living in tents, which except for chimneys smoking in a storm were on the whole quite comfortable. Alarm posts were assigned to the regiments of General Greene's Brigade and even greater vigilance was maintained by all outposts as enemy activity was anticipated. There was increased British artillery fire but with little damage and it was no longer a serious threat to the Colonials.

It is quite worthy of record that by this time the idea of

Independence was developing in the Army, though unfortunately little has survived of such discussions among the officers and men notwithstanding important debates in the Congress.

The matter of more uniform clothing was attracting more attention and General Orders recommended that officers and men lay out their money in shirts, shoes, stockings, and a good pair of leather breeches, rather than in coats and waistcoats, for these should be uniform and it was the desire of the Congress to have them made by tailors and sold to the soldiers without profit.

The new army was to have an increase of pay for the officers, though such a policy did not always accord with the more democratic ideas of the New Englanders who objected to differences of rank and condition as tending toward a standing army and a military aristocracy. This fear of a permanent establishment and a military officer-class was deep and underlying and prevented the enlistment of men for more than a single year in a Continental Army and the mistaken dependence on a militia system to supply adequate numbers with more or less local responsibility.

In 1776 most of Captain Wade's company in service with the New Army continued in what now became the Twelfth Continental Foot, an organization that included fourteen officers who had seen service in the French War, four of whom had been captains, two ensigns, and two were chaplains. By the middle of February the barracks at Cambridge were completed and Captain Wade, who had returned from his sick leave and Lieutenant Hodgkins took up their quarters in what the latter termed a "pretty room," and obviously more comfortable than a tent or hut. While there was some relief from guard duty during the winter months yet the regiments about Boston had continual drill and training as an attack in force on the British on both wings was contemplated by headquarters.

The occupation of Dorchester Heights by General Thomas and an extensive attack on Boston proper by the Left Wing under General Putnam were definitely planned but were prevented by bad weather. The same wind and storm

that interfered with Putnam's attack also rendered impossible a British movement that was made necessary by the development of the American position. This ended the siege and forced the evacuation of Boston and the consequent shift of the scene from New England to New York. Little's Regiment marched to Norwich and travelled by water to join the army being assembled in New York and Brooklyn. They had extensive service here participating in the Battles of Long Island, Harlem Heights, and the Westchester campaign. Captain Wade, it may be stated, after the Battle of Long Island and the withdrawal to New York was forced to leave his regiment on account of illness and recuperate in New Jersey, not returning to active service until September 30th at Fort Constitution in New Jersey.

The service of Colonel Little's Regiment on Long Island about New York and Westchester County is worthy of more extended treatment, and after the Battle of White Plains it withdrew to North Westchester with other elements of General Lee's Division. Unfortunately its effective strength was greatly reduced and both Colonel Little and Captain Wade were incapacitated by the rigors of field service and unable to accompany the contingent commanded by Lieut. Colonel Henshaw which rendered such noteworthy service at Trenton and Princeton serving under Colonel Daniel Hitchcock of Rhode Island.

In February 1777 both Colonel Little and Captain Wade were discharged at Peekskill and neither entered the Continental or Regular force that was being organized. Captain Wade's subsequent military activity was with Massachusetts State Troops in Rhode Island and on the Hudson, in addition to acting as muster-master for Essex County. Such duty notwithstanding the limitations and gross inefficiencies of the militia involved important responsibilities for which he was well fitted through the training and experience here outlined. Aside from his presence at Bunker Hill and at Long Island much of the service and training may seem routine and trivial, yet the record here presented is not only of intrinsic interest but as showing the development of a citizen army and the evolution of an

officer trained for duties of importance later to be discussed in these pages. An extended biography of Nathaniel Wade is in preparation for early publication, of which the present article is a portion to be supplemented in later issues of these *Historical Collections* and by discussions of the Massachusetts States Troops in Rhode Island and on the Hudson.

(To be continued)

ENGLAND IN 1801

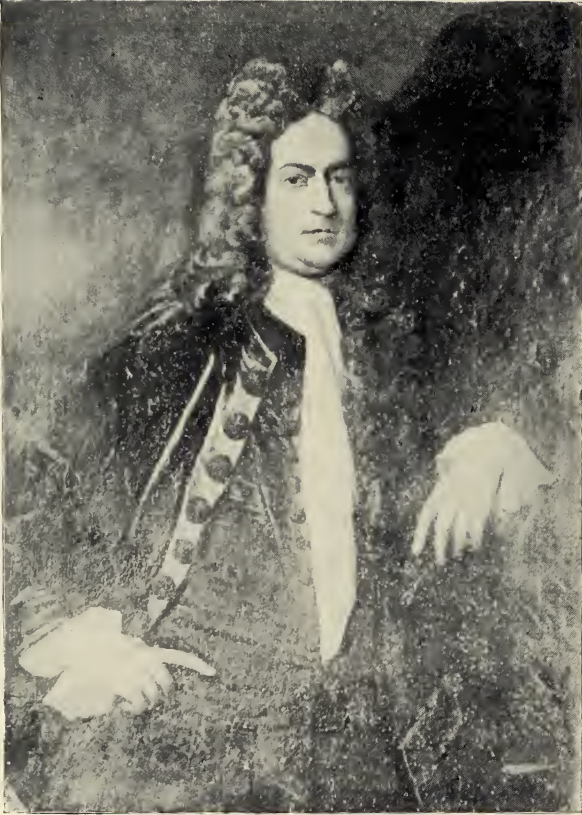
Part of a letter written from London June 15, 1801 to Benjamin H. Hathorne by his brother John Hathorne, Jr. per the *Betsey*, Capt. Hall, from Ward Family Mss., Vol. 9, Essex Institute:

"The voice of the English people is loud for peace. They have a temporary peace with the Northern Powers and they cannot believe the strange conduct of their government in the West Indies—towards the Americans. The poor of this Country are starving for want of Bread but strange to tell, there never was more Grain & flower in the Country than at present, but it is monopolised, a proof of this is the Stores are full; and vast quantities of rotten grain &c are seen poured into the Thames frequently—owing to the bad stores imployd.

I have not seen but very little of this Country; in my common walks I see much to admire & much to abhor; the pomp and splendor of the Great makes the wretched appear more miserable. The Thames is one of the most beautiful Rivers in Creation; the banks on each side are in the highest state of cultivation, but along the shore as we passed, we beheld many Gallows erected, and on these were suspended the tattered remnants of human Bodies!!! I am sorry to close with this sad tale but here is the end of my paper and I have only roome to subscribe myself your

I am in perfect health)
inform my friends.)

Affectionate Brother
John Hathorne Jun^r."



GOVERNOR WILLIAM DUMMER
Founder of Governor Dummer Academy

BYFIELD PARISH RECORDS
OCTOBER 29, 1706—MARCH 2, 1762

(Continued from Vol. LXXXIX, p. 194)

At a legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield December 19, 1727 to see if the Precinct would make or cause to make destress upon Edmond Goodridge or any other that Neglect or Refuse to pay their rates leived on them and other busness

at the abovesd meeting Decon William Moodey was chosen Moderator

whereas Edmond Goodridge by reason of sum Grievances upon his mind hath neglected to pay his rates to the Precinct he freely obliges himself for the futer to pay his rates provided the Precinct give liberty if he marry that his wife shall sit in what seat in the meeting house that he pleaseth and forgive him his rates not payd till the year 1728. The Precinct minds were tried by a voat whether they would grant the above proposell and past on the affermative

at the abovesd meeting the assessors were chosen to make the Table more convenient

At a legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Byfield March 19 Anno Dom 1728 Decon William Moodey was chosen Moderator Maximilian Jewett was chosen clark Assessors chosen as followeth Namly mr Ebenzer Steward Leiut Nathaniel Dumer mr Isaack Adams mr Gershum Fraiser mr Jonathan Wheeler for the year Insuing Colectors chosen Namly Joseph Goodbridge William Fisk for this year Insuing Leiut Nathaniel Dummer & Ebenzer Steward declining to sarve as Assessors Edmond Goodbridge and William Searls were chosen to serve in their stead

At the abovsd meeting the Precinct granted five pounds for to purchase half an acre of land ajoyning to the burying place for to bury the dead in and also by a voat on the affermative made choice of Capt Joseph Hale & Maximilian Jewett to take a deed of Josiah Smith of the sd half acre of land in the behalf of sd Precinct

At the abovsd meeting it was voated that their should be thirty rods of stone wall built and the assessors are Im-

powered to build or cause the sd wall to built joynig to the Personage where they shall judge it most necessary for the benifit of sd Precinct voted & pased on ye affirmative

At the above sd meeting it was voated that the Assessors should have ten shilings allowed them apice for their service for the precinct for the Insuing year voated and Pased on the affirmative

Hatt a Lagll meeteing of the present of the Inhabuts of Byfild November 26 Anno Dommy 1728 Mr Beniamin person was chosen Moderator for the present meetting Joseph Hale¹² was chosen clarke for the present meetting voted that Mr James Chut shold be in ye the rome of Maxemillin Juit to laye out ye halfe acher of Land for the bur-ing plase bought of Josiahs Smith voted that the assors shall paye to Joseph (Hale) and James Chute five pounds for the above said usee voted that ye assesers acounte be brought in at said meeting is aloud and all orther nassory charg that shall arise about said land to be paide voted and past one the afarmetive

Att a Lagel meeteing of the Inhabants of Byfild March the fourth 1728/9 Dacon Williem Moodey was chosen Moderator for the present meeteing Joseph Hale clark for the present yaer insuing assessors as fowlothe Edmond Goodbridg Samueill Brown Ins'n Thomas Coleman Ebenezer Stuart Joseph Noyes Cloectors Joseph Goodbridg Jun Nthinll Hariman. It was voteed that the precent shold make thurty rods of ston walle this present yaer one the parsandg voted and past one the afaemetive att the above said meeteing it was voted that the precent woudl give tow the Revernd Mr Hale their minister tow hundreed pounds monny or Bills of Credit for a settellment one Hnudreed pounce to be paide in the yaer 1729 the orther Hundred pounce to be paide in the yaer 1730 voted and past one the afarmetive

It was all so voted att the abovesaid meeting that the

12 Here begins the most difficult writing in the records. Not only is the penmanship crude, but in some paragraphs the same word is spelled as many as three different ways. Also, many words contain the correct letters, but letters are arranged in "unusual" order. Some corrections in the spelling have been made by the editor to render the records more intelligible.

Assessors shoold call a precent meeteing this daye fortnight to give answer whether thaye will exchang Lands with the Revd Mr Hale as has ben discorst upon att this meeting or give Him the tow Hundred pounds befoore mentioned voted and past one the afarmetive voted that the Assessors Instrustions for this present yaer shall be the same as thaye waer the last yaer in 1728 voted and past one the afarmetive

Att a Lagell meeteing of the In Habontee of Byfild one March the 24 1728/9 Mr Isaack Adams was chosen Moderator for the present meeteing It was vottd that the precente woold give to the Revernd Mr Moses Hale one Hundred pounds in mony or bills of credit fifty pounds to be paide in the yaer 1729 and fifty pounds mooer to be paide in the yaer 1730 He continueing our minister and one Hundred pound to be paide to Mrs Hale in case shee be lefte a widdo within one yaer after Mr Hales desase. It is to be understode yt this vote is in liue and shall answer the vote of two Hundred pound which was voted to be given him att a meeting one March the 4 1728/9 voted and past one the afarmetive

I accept of ye vote above mentioned in Lieu of ye vote passd March 4th for 200 Pounds to be given to me.

Moses Hale

Byfield March 24 1728/9 Att a Lagele meeteing of the Inhabents of Byfild November 14 1729 Mr Amos Pillsbury was chosen Modrator Amos Pillsbury was allso chosen Assosear in the rome of Samuell Brown howe is moved out of ye preense

Att a Lagll meeting of the Inhabnts of byfild on March the 3 1729/30 Mr Beniamin person Modrater Joseph Hale was chosen clark Mr. Isaack Adams Dacon Samuill Moody Mr Nathinll Hariman Mr. Joseph Noyes Dacon James Chutt was chossen Assessors Voted att said meeteing the assessors instructions shoold be the same thay wear in 1724

Collectors choson namly Mr John Plummer Mr Nathan Wheler Jun Itt was voted att said meeteing that the precente woold mak 30 roods of stone walle one the nor

wassely ende of tha parsnedg land votd and past one tha afarmative

Hatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabartanes of Byfild July the 14 1730 Mr Benjamin person was chosen modar-toor for said metting John Dummer Esqur Mr Ebenzer Steuat and Leftent Stephn Longfalow waer chossen to go to the Ganerll Corte to answer to a petion put in to said Cort by the wasterly part of Rowly and sum of byfild parish

Att said meeteing Mr Ebenezer Steurdt was chossen collector for the present yaer and was sworne to the offic in Lew of John Plummer howe is moved out of the prashs

Hatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabents of the prash of Byfild November ye 24 1730 Mr Nathan Wheeler chosen moodator The abovesaid meeting was ajorngd to the 30 of this instant November to 12 of the clock of said daye voted that Mr Justes Dumer shod be alowed for the sarvis and exspenes he has been att for ye presente tow pounds nine shilens 2-9-0

Att said meetting it was vottd thatt Mr Ebenzer Stued shool be alowd there pods eighteene shilens for his sarvis dun for the precte [precinct?] 3-18-0

Att the above said meeting it was votd thatt Lefe Stephn Longfalow shod be alowd three pounds eight shilens for his sarves don for ye prechts [precinct?] 3-8-0

Voted att the above said meeting thatt Mr Richard Hazeren shod be alowd five pounds won shilin for mesuring and fencing that plot 5-0-0

It was voted that ye parish wod paye for tha stone wall made this yaer at tha parsnodg

Hatt a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfild one March the second 1730/1 Mr Nathen Wheler modertor Joseph Hale was chosen clark Asesors chosen for ye yaer ensueing Mr Ebenzer Steurd Mr Samuill Deckenson Mr Thomas Wicom Dacon Samuill Moodey Mr Joseph Goodbridg Colectors Mr John Lull Junier Mr Grashm Frazer

It was voted att saide meetteing that the precentee will make 30 Rods of stone walle this prasante yaer

Votd that Mr Isaack Adams Mr Ebenzer Stuert and Mr Nathinill Dumer shood be a commite to discors with

a commite that the ould parish of Rowley shall choose to exchange sum famalies with our parish of Byfilde

Hatt a Lagell meeting of the Inhabatence of Byfilde upon May ye twelfe 1731 Mr Benjamin Parson modarator

1 Att said meeting Mr Josha Boynton was chosen an assessor in the rome of Samull Moody refuesing to sarve

2 Voted att said meeting Mr Ebnzer Stuart shall go to the Genroll Cort to answar to paticsson put in to said Cort by sum of the parsich and byfild and sum of the wasterly part of Rowly att the Maye sashons in 1731 and then to uese all proper menes in the behalfe of the prasenth tall the caes is ended

3 It was vottd att the above said thatt this meeting that is now bult in Byfild or anny orther meeting Houes that shall be bult haer after bult shall not be sott lower in Newbury than thers stands one the line now

Att a Lagll meeting of the Inhabnts of Byfild one Septmber ye 1731 Dacon James Chutte was choson moodrator Insine Thomas Coleman was chosen an asesour for the prasent yare Vottd att said meeting that Mr Eben Steuat & Joseph Hale shall go downe to the Generell Cort to answer to a petion or haer the Report of the Comite yt has ben to vew the presecent and to put in a memoerll to said Cort if ther be ocasion

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfild October ye seventh 1731 Dacon Sameull Moody modertor Voted att said meeting Mr Ebenzer Steurt account shall be alowed 14-16-4 for servis don att cort and att home and mony exspend Vottd alls that Mr Frazer be alowd 1-1-0-0 Vottd that Mr Hazen be alowed 2-0-0-0 and the mony paid to Joseph Hale Vottd that Joseph Hale be alowd for going to Boston and exspences 2-0-0 Vottd allso att said meeting that Thomas Coleman and Amos Pillsbury and Joseph (Hale) be alowd ten shilins per man for exspences & time in weighting one the comitee for the parish 1-1-0-0

Att a Lagll meeting of the Inhabants of Byfield November ye 29 1731 Mr Eben Steuat mooderator (1) Voted that Mr Amos Pillsbury Mr Beniamin Stickny Leftent Stephn Longfalow shall be a commite to discors with the

Revnd Mr Hale to agree with Him tow find him salfe wood and repaeir the buildings and fancis

2 Voted att said meetting the meeting houes shall be sated & thatt Leftent Nathinll Dumer Mr Samueill Dickason Insine Thomas Coleman Mr Beniamin Stickny Mr Amos Pillsbuary shall be a commite tow sate the meeting house Rule for satting by age & rates

Hatt a Lagll metting of the Inhabants of Byfild on Desamber ye 13 1731 Insin Coleman mooderator Voted att said meeting that the preceint wouold add to the Revd Mr Hales salary fiveteene pounds in consideration for finding him salfe wood for this present yaer insueing that is for the yaer 1732

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfild on March ye 7 1731/2 Mr Ebenzer Stuart was chosen moderator for the prasent meetting Joseph Hale was chosen clark for the prasent meeting that is for ye yaer inseuing Assesers as fowleth Captain Jonathn Baly Captin Abraham Adams Sargnt Danill Tinny Clark David Woodman Mr Beniamin Stickny Collettors John Lull and Garsham Frazer

Att the above said meetting votd that the presenth will fance the burying place So votd yt shall be fenete with ston walle three foots and halfe high and that Captin Baly and Captin Abraham Adams shall be a commite to see the woarck done

The Assors instructions for ye yaer 1732 are as followeth to repeer the meeting hous parsonage houes & barne allso to make and repaeir all out side fances and orchard fenesees belonging to ye parsonage and to warn meeteings as thaye shall think fitt allso to imply sum parson to ring the bell upon all nesary ocations allso to sweep the meeting hous to keep it clane and desent allso to levey what mony is or maye be grantd by the presinte for the support of the ministre upon the inhabartents of said present acording as the law derects and allso to call the present and former collectors to an acounte and to demand and receive any mony that is deu to the precent from any collector or collectors or any other parson or parsons for the use and acording to the order of the precint and the presnt Assess-

ors are haerby impowed to pursue as the law dericts any collectors or collector or any other parson or parsons thatt shall neglect or refues to paye to the prscent Assessers or their order any mony that is deu from him or them to said prsente Votd and pased on the affairmative

Hatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabatence of the pre-cints of Byfild one ye twenty second day of November 1732 Captin Johanathen Bayley Mooderator Votd that Captein Johnathn Baley and Captein Abraham Adames shall be aloud fouer pounds nineteene shilins moony for bulding ten roods & third part of rood of stonwall about the burying plaes Votd they woold sate the meeting houes

Allso voted that Insine Coleman shall be one of the commite to sate the meeting House and Ebenezer Stuart & Mr Amos Pillsbury & Mr John Siurls and Mr Benjamin Person or the main part of them shall agree Voted the rule for seting shall be age and the last yaers rate and this presant yaers rates

Att a Lagell meetting of the Inhabents of the Precente of Byfild one the nineteenth of Desmber 1732 Insine Thomas Coleman moodertor Voted that Benjamin Pooer shall have eight pounds for diging a well att the parsonodg He is to dige to sufficene water that is to saye three foots of water and to stone the well eight foots up we promising to make sum halpe in stoning

Votd att said meetting that the precent will take of one 3d part of the precent galleries for the wiomen

March 6 1732/3 Hatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabants of Byfild one March 6 1732/3 Capten Abraham Adams mooderator Joseph Hale was chossen clarke for yaer enseuing Assesers namely Mr Josaiah Smith Mr Mathew Deuty Mr John Sirles Mr Thomas Perrin Mr Garsham Frazer Collectors Mr Moses Garish Mr Benjamin Stickny Junr Mr Moses Girsh refest and Mr Edmond Goodbridg chosen in his rome Voted att abvesaid meetting that Benjamin Pooer shall have three pounds paid him in part for digging the parsnadg well Voted allso that Captin Johnathen Baley and Mr Amos Pillsbuery shall joyne with a commite of the new parish to run a line be-

tweene Jaradiah Persons lands & Nathinll Hairimans land to Bradford line

Voted that Mr Nathinll Dummer Mr Joseph Noyes shall pitson to the out parshes in Newbery to sattell the line with Byfild parshs Votd att the March meetting 1732/3 that ther shall be an Invoeis taeken of the Inhabants of Byfild to propotion the minestreys rate by for ye yaer insng

Hatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabants of Byfild March the 21 1733 Insine Thomas Coleman moodeator Voted att said meetting the preceantt will make twenty five roods of stone walle this present yaer one the parsnodg beetwene Smith and the parsnodg sum beetwene Mr Dumrs land said parsnodg Voted that the asossors shall taek caer that said walle be bult and raeis moony to paye for said walle Voted and past one the afairmative Voted thatt Mr David Woodman and Barthlome Person shall taek caere of the woodland in the wood loots in Newbuery given to the falls parish

Hatt a Lagell meetteing of the Inhabants of Byfild upon ye 15 October 1733 Insine Coleman mooderator Voted that the Assossors shall agree with a man or men to dig and finnish a safichent well for ye Revernd Mr Hale Voted and paste on the Avairmative

Att a Lagell meetteing of the Inhabtence of Byfild upon November ye 12 1733 Dacon Samuells Moody mooderator Voted att said meeting that the severll debts oferd shall be alowed Alls voted att said meetting that Benjamin Pooer shall have alowed him five pounds for woork he has don att the parsnodg well all radey & said Pooer is tow woorek one said well att fouer shillns pur daye—the precentee finding paye so long as the commite shall alow of or see caues to imply him John Sirlls Mathue Deutry Commite

Hatt a Lagell meetteing of the In Habents of the parish of Byfild one the fifth daye of March 1734 Mr Iaasak Adams was chosen moodertor for said meetteing Joseph Hale was chosen clarke for the yaer insueing Assossors Sargent Stephen Person Sargent Benjamin Person Mr Richard Laten Mr Garsham Frazer Mr Mooses Hale Collectors Sargent Daeinll Tenny Mr Andrew Deuty

Voted that the precent will mak ye remainder of the ston wall beetwene Mr Smith and the parsnodg this present yaer Votd thatt the Instrucktions voted in 1733 shall be the same for this present yaer 1734

Att a Lagell metteing of the Inhabents of Byfld October ye 15 1734 Dacon Samiuell Moody moodertor Mr Samiell Dickason Mr Abrham (Adams) with Mr Amos Pillsbuury wich was in befoer to be a commite to run the line betwene Byfld and Mr Chandles parshis Voted that the parshis will sele one roome over had of the parsnodg houes Voted that Nathen Wheler Juner may didg in ye parsnodg for oer paying the valy of it to the parsh Mr David Woodman and Dacon Chute to over see that afaer

Hatt a Lagell meetteing of the Inhabatence of Byfld one the forth of March 1734/5 Mr Iaasac Adames was chosen moodertor for said metteing Joseph Hale chosen Clark for the yaer inseuing Assosears for the yaer inseuing Dacon Samuill Moodey Corptin John Baly Sargnt Joseph Goodgridg Mr Moses Hale Sargnt Betholoueme Person Collectors Mr Joseph Garish Mr Thomas Lull

Voted that the pariash will make twenty roods of ston walle this present yaer Voted thaye will exchange an acoer of land with the Revernd Mr Moses Hale wich Mr Hale has in the persnoge for an acor of land laying joineing to Josaiiah Smiths land Voted that Insine Thomas Colman Captain Abrham Aadames and Mr John Sirles shall be a commite to manige the afaeir above said and bring in report to the nex meeting Votd att ye above said meetting thatt ye parish will give the Revend Mr Hale thirty five pounds for this yaer inseuing mooer than he had the last yaere Votd and past one the affermative Voted att said meetteing that the assors instructions shall be as thaye was the last yaer

Att a Lagll meetting of the Inhabants of Byfld one March ye 3d 1736 Mr Samuill Dickason mooderator for said meetten Joseph Hale chosen clark for the yaer ensueing Assesossors for the present yaer Sargent Benjmin Pooer Mr Elizer Burbank Mr Timothy Jackman Mr Burbank releste and Captin Abrham Adamms chosen in his rome

Collectors for the ensuing yaer Mr Joseph Gairsh Mr Joseph Danford Votd that the precent will mak twenty rods of ston walle this prsent yaer ye assessors to see the wall dun The instruction that was the last yaer is votd for the prsent yaer Ye 3 of March 1736 the above mentiond assessors and collectors wear sworne to their offisoses by me Joseph Hale Clark for Byfiled

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfield Aprill ye 5 1736 Mr Ebenzer Steurt mooderator Voted that the parsih will give the Revernd Mr Hale thirty five pounds as he had the last yaer wich makes the hole salary 150

a commite choson to give a dede to Mr Hale and to tak a dede of Mr Hale of one acheor of land in the parsnodg the Commite Captn Abraham Adams Mr Samuill Dickason choson for that sarvis

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabatence of Byfiled one March the 3d 1736/7 Dacon James Chute modertor Joseph Hale was choson clarke for the present yaer Asesorses for the prasant yaer Mr Joseph Grish Mr Samiell Northen Mr Elizer Burbank Mr David Woodman Mr Samiell Junit Colloctors Mr Richard Steurt Mr John Sirles and swornd by me Joseph Hale Clark for byfiled parish

Voted att above said meeting the pairsh will give ye Revernd Mr Hale the thirty five pounds as he have had of ye tow yaers paste this prasant yaere Voted allso theye will make twenty rods of ston wall this prasant yaer

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfiled July 7 1737 Insine Coleman modator Voted that Instructions wich was in 1736 shall be for this present yaer 1737 Att abovesd meeting Mr Edmond Goodbridg was chosen colloctor for this present yaer for byfiled in the rome of Mr Richard Seuert

Att a Lagell metting of the In Habants of Byfiled October ye tenth 1737 Mr Amos Pillsbuary chosen moodertor Voted att above said theye will digd out the wall¹³ wich was last dug and stone it up againe Voted thatt the pre-

¹³ Although spelled "wall," it is apparent that the clerk is referring to the well.

sent asesosers shall do the wall above meshent or imply a man or men to digd and finnish said wall

Hatt a Lagell meetten of the Inhabents of Byfild Januery ye 24 1737/8 Mr Amoss Pillsbuary moodertor for said metting Voted Mr Joseph Goodbridg chosens collector for this prasant yaer 1737 in the rome of Mr Edmond Goodbridg desest

Aatt a Lagell meetting of the Inhabants of Byfild March ye 7 1737/8 Insine Coleman was chosen moodertoer for said meten Joseph Hale chosen parsih clark for this prasant yaer Assesors for this yaer Mr Amos Pillsbuary Mr Joseph Garish Mr Joseph Noyes Mr Samueill Juitt Mr Josiah Plummer Sargnt Joseph Goodbridg Mr Samueill Northen Collectors for 1738

Att the March meetting in 1738 Voted theye will making twelve rods of stone wall this present year Voted that the Asesors shall exchang fance with Mr Hale that is to mak sum for him for that he has made Allso to take down the tarrit and rapaer the meetting hous and mak a place for the bell and hang the bell againe Voted the parish will give the Reverend Mr Hale the thirty five pounds this prasant yaer as he has had sum yaeres paste

Att a Lagell meetting of ye Inhabiants of Byfild one March ye 6 1738/9 Samueill Moodey Esqur moodertor Joseph Hale chosen clark for ye yaer inseuing Assesors for this yaer Insine Thomas Coleman Mr Moses Whaler Mr Anoch Dole Mr Mathew Deuty Mr Moses Gerish Colloctors Mr Benjamin Woodman Mr Samuill Pooer Votd the parish will make twenty rods of ston walle one the parsonag this prasant yaer Voted att above said meetteing that the parish will give to the Revernd Mr Hale twenty pounds mooer this prasant yaer than they gave the laste yaer wich makes one undred and seventy pounds

Att a Lagell meeteing of the Inhabatance of Byfild one March the fourth 1739/40 Dacon Samuill Moodey moderator Joseph Hale Clarke for the prasant yaer Assesors chosen Sargnt Nathen Whaeler Juner Mr Jadadiah Person Mr Moses Hale Lefttent Stephn Person Mr Josha Noyes Colloctors Mr Benjamin Woodman Mr Abrham Browne

Voted att said meeting that the parish will give the Revernd Mr Hale ten pounds mooer then he had last yaer wich maks one hundred and eighttey pounds with the five-teene pounds for wood Voted and past one the aformative Allso voted att said meeting that the Assosors shall make twenty rods of ston wall one the parsoneg this prasant yaer Allso voted that the Instrcoctions was last yaer shall be the same this yaer with this addishon that the assosors shall bring their acount of the charg thay expend one the meeting house and parsnog and laye it befor the parish att a parish meeting to be alowed by the parish

Att a Lagell meeting of the In Habtene of Byfild one Desmber 11 1740 Mr Joseph Noyes mooderator Votd that Mr Hale shall be aloud for bulding the leetle chinny in the paler Voted that Samuell Pooer and Abrham Browne be alowd eighteen pounds for shingling the parsnodg houes Votd that Mr Joseph Noyes be alowed for making 20 roods stone wall

Att a Lagell meeteing of the Inhabants of Byfild one March ye 3d 1740/1 Dacon Samuill Moodey moodartor Joseph Hale was choson clark Coolloctors Mr Garshm Frazer Sargnt Timothy Jackman Aossors Mr Andrew Deuty Mr Samull Pooer Captin Benjamin Person Dacon James Chute Leftent Stephn Longfallow Voted thaye will give the Revernd Mr Hale the same salary he had the laste yaer wich wass one hundred and eighty pounds he finding him salfe fier wood Voted and past one the afairmitive Voted thay will make fiveteene rods of stone walle this prasent yaere

Apirll 13 1741 Att a Lagell meeting of the In Habants of Byfild Dacon James Chute moodartor Voted that they will buld a pound Mr John Sirlls and Mr Nathinll Dummer shall be a commite to agree with a man or men to buld said pound

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabnts of Byfild one March the second day 1741/2 Captin Abrahm Adams mooderator for said meeteing Joseph Hale Clarke for the present yaer Assessosers for the present yaer Insine John Baly Insine Joseph Gerish Dacon James Chutt Collectors for this yaer Sargnt Timothy Jackman Mr

Gershm Frazer Voted thaye will give the Revernd Mr Hale one hundred and eighty 180 pounds for tha yaer insuing as he had the last yaer Voted that thay will give ye Revd Mr Hale ten pounds for that exterordany charg for the lectors for tha yaer past

Voted allso that thaye will make tha remainder of the ston this yaer about the parsnodg all tha abovsd votes vote and paste one tha affermative The respective ofisers tock their respective ofhes attest Joseph Hale parish Clark

July ye firste 1742 Att a Lagell meetteing of the Inhabants of Byfild Mr Samuill Dixkason moodator Voted att the above said meetting that they will latt the Revernd Mr Moses Hale have twenty rods of land that is to saye one halfe quater of an ocor of land att the southwest corner of parsnodg land joyneing to the High waye and to Mr Josiha Smiths land Voted allso that Captin Abraham Adams and Insine John Baly shall be a commite to laye oute the above said land to the above said Hale and to give the above said Hale a deede of the above said land in the behalfe of the said parish of Byfild Voted and paste one the afermtive

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfild one Desmber 28 1742 Dacon Samuelli Moody modertor It was voted att said meetteing thatt Samueill Juitt shall be aloud fourteene pounds six shillns for making stone wall this prasant yaer and the Glazers bill be alowd and the clarks ten shillins and Dacon Chuts and Mr Baleys days woork Votd att the above said meeting the parish will give as gratis to the Revernd Mr Hale twenty pound for the prsent yaer ould tenner mooer then was voted att March meeting Voted and paste one tha afarmative

Hatt a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of Byfild March ye 1 1742/3 Mr Samueill Dickason was chosen moodertor for the prasant meeteing Joseph Hale was chosen clarke for tha yaer ensuing Aseseors Insin Joseph Gerish Insine John Baly Mr David Person Collectors Josha Noyes Mr Richard Steurt Voted att above said meetting that they will give tha Revd Mr Hale tow hundred pounds this yaer ensuing ould tenner besids that parsnodg Voted and past

one ye afarmtive The above said offisers sworne attest Joseph Hale parish clark

Hatt a Lagell meettening of the Inhabnts of Byfld one Dasmber 1 1743 Mr Samueill Dickason chosen mooderator

Att a Lagell meeting of tha Inhabants of Byfld one Janarery the ninth 1743/4 Dacon James Chute mooderator Voted thaye will give one hundred pounds towards tha funerll of tha Revernd Mr Hale desaste ould tenner Voted and paste one tha afirmative Voted that tha Dacons and Leftent Northen shall look all and take care to supply tha pulpit for tha prasente that is untell March meeting

Att a Lagell meeting of tha Inhabants of Byfld February 23 1743/4 Mr Ebenezer Stuert mooderator Voted that the Revernd Mr Wigilsworth Mr Warin Mr Juit and Mr Chandler and the Revd Mr Barnet Newtowne Newbuary aer apinted to carring the woorke of the day of fasting and prayer Voted att the above said meeting that the one hundred pounds voted one Januery 9 1743/4 for the fuenerll of the Revd Mr Hale ouer late pasteur desaste shall be raised or laid this prasent yaer by tha prasent asesoers

Att a Lagall meeting of the Inhabants of the parsh of Byfld one March ye 5th 1743/4 Mr Ebenzer Steurt mooderator Joseph Hale clark for the yaer insuing Att a Lagel meeting of the Inhabants of the parish of Byfld lawfully quaralifid for vouting as the Law directs one March ye 5th 1743/4 then asmbld Mr Ebenzer Stuert was chosen moodartor for said meeting Joseph Hale was chosen Clark for the yaer ensuing. Assesers for the yaer ensuing Captin Joseph Garish Insine John Baly Mr John Sirlls Collocttors for ye yaer ensuing Mr Josha Noyes and Mr Richard Steurt Voted att said meeting thatt the prsand asosors shall tack caere of the parsnodg to latt it out or part of it as thay shall see cases Votd that the asessors instrucktions shall be as thay was the last yaer the above said vots all past one the afirmative Voted that Mr John Sirls be aded to Mr Lowflow and Mr Nathen

Whaler to discourse with the tow minsters tha parish orderd then tow Mr Moses Hale¹⁴ and Mr Moses Parsons

The respective ofiseors chosen for the yaer insuing the asesors tock their othes to their offiss thay waer chosin tow befoer me Joseph Hale parish Clark and the Collectors tock their othes in the respective townes thay belong tow and I my salfe tock my othe befoer Justis Rolfe tow the offis of parish Clark in Byfild

Att a Lagell meetting of the church¹⁵ and parish of Byfild upon Apirill ye 13 1744 Mr Ebenzer Steurt mooderator for said meeting was chose by a claer vote the church and parish being asambld together voted to give Mr Moses Parsons¹⁶ of Glosistor a calle to be our minister and pastuer and it paste the afarmitive with a grate Majarty Allso voted tow add to the commity chosen by the church Mr Samuill Dickason and Mr John Sirlls to apply to Mr Moses Parsons for an answar

Att a Lagel meetting of the parish by Byfild upon Aprill the twenteh seventh 1744 Mr Samuill Dickason mooderator Voted that we will give to Mr Moses Parson for his yaerly salery so long as he caryes on the woork of the ministry in this place tow hundred and fivety pounds ould tenner yaerly besides the prffits and privlidgs of the parsonge Voted and paste on the affermative

Mr Abrahm Adames and Benj Plumer enterd their descent againste the vote abve rittein

Att a Lagell meetting of ye hole parish of Byfild one Maye the twenty first 1744 Mr Ebenzer Stuart mooderator the parish being mett to gather voted that thaye do concur with the church in the ordaing of Mr Moses Parsons of Glocestor upon the twenty first day of June following the date above ritien the churches sant to aer as

14 Of Rowley, later (1752) minister at the 2nd Church Newbury. (Now West Newbury) It was he who was severely criticized by some of his parishioners for wearing a wig.

15 The first instance noted of the church and parish meeting together.

16 The second minister, ordained June 21, 1744, served until his death, December 14, 1783. As the owner of three slaves, including the renowned Violet, he was denounced by some, including Deacon Benjamin Colman, who became so outspoken that he was removed from office for a time until he made apologies. (A few years after the Rev. Mr. Parsons' death.)

flowes the three churchis of Glosester Mr Whights Mr Jaques Mr Bradstreets Mr Wigelworth Mr Worthen of Wenham and the second and the fourth church of Newbrary Mr Barnets and Mr Johnsons and the tow churches of Rouely Mr Juits and Mr Chandlers Voted that Dacon Samuill Moodey and Mr John Sirlls tack caer to provide enteiment for the minsters and mesengers Voted that Mr Garsham Frazer shall have twelve pounds ould tenner for which he is to provide a hansum entenment for alle scolers and gentelemn that shall coume to his houes that daye Voted that Laften Stephn Lowngflo Laftent Nathinll Dummer Captin Joseph Garsish be a commite to send letters to invite the severll churchis above mentioned to cary un the woork of the ordaynation above mentioned the votes above mentioned all paste on the afirmative

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabents of the parish of Byfld Novmber 14 1744 Mr Ebenzer Steurt was chosen moodertor for said meeting to alow parish debts Voted to alow Garshm Frazer for bording of Calub Moodey fiveteene shillns 0-15-0 Voted to alow Calub Moodey fore pounds for woork dun to tha parsnadg House 4-00-0 Voted to alow Dacon Samueill Moodey and Mr John Sirlls twenty seven pound seven shillen 27-07-00 Allowed Mr John Sirlls mooer one pound for going to Cappan¹⁷ 01-00-00 Voted to alow Garshm Frizer for providg for the ordanation twelve pounds 12-00-00 To alow Thomas Smith eleven shillns 00-11-00 To alow Mr Sirlls for tanding the masons and tanding the houes one pound sevn shns 01-07-00 Voted to alow Mr Longfalow for going to Cappan 01-00-00 Allso to Nathin Whaler going to Cappan 01-00-00 Voted to give Mr Moses Hale twenty fouer pounds for praching six dayes 24-00-00 Voted att above said meeting to alow for mending the glas and lime for the parsond houes and blaksmiths bill and orther accounts wich the men wher not att the metting to bring in their accounts all the accounts above voted and past one the afirmative

Att a Lagell meeting of the Inhabants of the parish of Byfld one March the fifth 1744/5 Mr Ebenezer Steurt was chosen mooderator for the prasent meeting Joseph

Hale was chosen clarke for the prasente yaer Assessors Mr John Sirlls and Captin Garish and Mr John Baly Mr Josha Noyes and Mr Richard Steurte was chosen collectors for the prasente yaer voted att above said meeting that the Revrnd Mr Moses Parsons yaer shall begin anuely from the first daye of March and so to continue from yaer to yaer so long as ocasion shall be Votd att said meeting thaye will give alow Mr Moses Hale twlve pounds mooer for three days praching mooar thn was aloued befoer Voted allso to fence the yard befoer the parsnodg house as it ueste to be fanced Voted that the Asessers instuc-tions shall be as thaye waer the last yaer Voted and paste one the affarmitive

At a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of ye Parish of Byfield December the 31 1745—At the above said meeting Mr Nathan Wheeler was chosen moderator. Also at sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons two Hundred and fifty Pounds old Tenor for the year Past: also at sd meeting there was Eighteen Pounds and ten pence old tenor allowed to sundry Persons for sundry particulars done for the sd parish in the year past. Also at sd meeting Mr Nathaniel Dummer Samuel Dickinson and Samuel Jewett was chosen a committy to view the Parsonage House and to make Report concerning the same at the next Parish meeting.

January the 14, 1745/6 At a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at the sd meeting Mr Ebenezer Stuart was chosen moderator: also at sd meeting John Bailey ¹⁸ was chosen Clerk and sworn, also at sd meeting it was Put to vote to see if it were the minds of the sd Inhabitants to Repare the old meeting house as it now stands and it Past in the Negitive: also at sd meeting it was put to vote to see if it were the minds of the sd Inhabitants to Bild an adition to sd Meeting House and it Past in the Negitive: also at the above sd meeting: it was put to vote to see if it were the minds of the sd Inhabitants to Buld a new Meeting House Fifty six feet long and Forty five feet wide: as near whear the old meet-

18 A very neat penman. His many carefully written pages are a joy to the reader:

ing house stands as can be with convenience: and it past in the affirmative: also at sd meeting Thomas Colman Richard Dole Joseph Gerrish Samuel Dickinson Stephen Longfellow Ebenezer Stuart and John Bailey was Chosen a Committy to Disscorce with such work men as they shall think Propper and convenient to see who will apear and undre take to Buld a Meeting House for the Inhabitants of sd Parish upon the Easiest and most Reasonablest terms: and to make Report of the same at the ajurnment of sd meeting. The above said meeting it a jurned by a vote to the 28 Day of January Currant at two a Clock in the after noon at the Meeting House in sd Parish. The Inhabitants of sd Byfield being assembled to gether at the time and place above mentioned did then and their vote that the present assessors of sd Parish shall levey and asses a tax of one Hundred Pounds in old tenor upon the Inhabitant of sd Parish in a Particular Rate by it self for Mr Benj Woodman to Provide Stuff withall in order to Buld the above sd Meeting House: at the sd meeting it was voted that the assessors that are chosen at the next annuel meeting in March shall Levey and asses a tax of one Hundred Pounds in old tenor upon the Inhabitants of sd Parish: which money is to be paid to the under taker or under takers of the afore sd meeting house at the first of September next or at the time when the sd meeting house shall be Raisd: also at sd meeting it was voted that two Hundred Pounds in old tenor shall be laid in a Rate by the assessors of sd Parish in the year one thousand seven hundred forty and seven: which money is to be Paid to Benj Woodman and Richard Stuart at the compleating of the sd meeting house: also at the sd meeting Richard Dole Thomas Colman and John Bailey was impowerd to enter into arteles of agreement with Benj Woodman and Richard Stuart in the Behalf of the sd Inhabitants to oblige the sd Woodman and Stuart in every Particular to fullfill what they have under taken as to Bulding and compleating of a meeting house for the sd Inhabitants: and to become obligd to them in Behalf of the sd Inhabitants so far as shall be thought sufficient for there security. also at sd meeting it was voted that Benj Woodman shall have the whole of the

old meeting house after the new meeting house is compleated, Excepting any Particular Grants that may be found there in: Besides the four Hundred Pounds in old tenor that is before mentiond and the Pew Roome upon the Lower floor. the minister Pew only Excepted: for his Bilding and compleating a new meeting house for sd Inhabitants according to agreement

At the afore sd meeting it was voted that Mr Benj Woodman shall have Libberty a month or two Before the new meeting house is compleated to make use of such stuff that is of the inside of the old meeting house as shall be counted sufficent by the sd committy to finish any part of the new house: also at sd meeting it was voted that the East End of the new meeting house shall stand square with the East End of the Present Meeting House, within three or four feet of sd House at the Back Side.

March the 4, 1745/6 At a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Cap Joseph Gerrish was chosen moderator: also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk and Sworn: also at sd meeting Dea Samuel Moody Nathan Wheeler and John Bailey was chosen assessors for the ensuing year: also at sd meeting Joshua Noyes and Richard Stuart was chosen colectors for the ensuing year and the assessors and colectors was sworn, immediately after they were chosen by the Clerk. At sd meeting David Pearson Richard Dole and Samuel Poor was chosen a committy to Draw a Plan for the form of a steple and to see how cheep they can have it Bult and to make Report concerning the same at the a jurnment of sd meeting: it was voted that the assessors shall have the same instructions as they have had heretofore for the ensuing year. The above sd meeting is a jurned by a vote to ye 18 day of March Currant at three a clock in the afternoon at the meeting house in sd Parish

The Inhabitants of sd Byfield Being assembled together at the time and Place Before mentioned and it was then and their put to vote to see if it were the minds of the sd Inhabitants to Buld a Seple to the new meeting house from the ground pinning to hang the bell in and it past in the affirmitive also at sd meeting it was agreed upon and

voted by the sd Inhabitants to Rais one Hundred Pounds in old tenor to be laid in the next Parish Rate by the present assessors, which money is to be paid to the Person or Persons that Doth under take to Buld the above mentioned steaple at the time when it shall be Raisd: also at sd meeting Mr Stephen Longfellow Mr John Sorl Mr Richard Dole Mr David Pearson and Samuel Poor was chosen a committy to see who will appear and under take to Buld the Before mentioned steeples which is to be of sutible dementions in proportion to the bigness of the sd house: cheapest and upon the most Reasonablest terms: and sd committy of the mayger part of them are by the sd Inhabitants impowrd to enter into articles of agreement with the Person or Persons that shall undertake to Buld the above sd steeples cheapest and upon the best terms for sd Inhabitants.

May the 22, 1746 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield. at sd meeting Mr Nathaniel Dummer was chosen moderator. at the sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish shall levey a tax by the invoice that was last taken in sd Parish in order to Raise the Two Hundred Pounds in old tenor that was granted by sd Inhabitants to be paid at the time when the new Meeting House and steple is Raisd to those men that have under taken to Buld the same. also at the afore sd meeting it was voted that the committy that agreed with Dea James Chewte and his son Daniel Chewte to Buld a steple to hang the Bell in shall take care that sd steple be under Pind

June the 16, 1746: at a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield: at sd meeting John Sarl was chosen moderator: also at sd meeting Benj Poor David Pearson and Stephen Pearson was chosen to take care that there were Rocks Enough Seasonably Halled to under pin one hundred and sixty feet of the new Meeting House—also at sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted Mr Benjamin Colman shall have twenty five Pounds old tenor paid him by sd Parish he makeing suffiissint provission both as to meat and drink for as many men as are imploid in Raising

the sd meeting house which is Recond not to exceed sixty or seventy

June ye 24, 1746 Whereas the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at a meeting bearing date from the fourteenth day of January 1745 then voted to buld a new meeting house and to sit the sd meeting house at the north side of the old meeting house on the Buring Place and by reason of sickness the Parish Clerk was not at the afore sd meeting: and therefore there was no Parish Book present and it apears by the sd Book that there was a vote past in sd Parish in the year 1731: that the present meeting house or any other meeting house that should hereafter be bult in sd Parish shall not be carred further into Newbury then this now stands which is here perfixt on the line, and it also apears by sd Book that the land adjoning to the north side of the old meeting house is appropriated for a Buring Place in sd Parish.

The Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield being regularly assembled to gether on the 24 day of June 1746: did then make choys of Deacon Sanuel Moody for a Moderrator for sd meeting: also at the sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted to erect and sit up the new Meeting House in the Place where the old meeting house stands: the Back side of sd house to stand four or five feet further to the north then the Back Side of the old meeting house stands, and so to extend as much further to the south as it is wider:

also at sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted to bild up at the fore side of the old meeting house & at the ends in order to prepeare a place to sit the new meeting house upon also at sd meeting Cap Joseph Gerrish Lev Benj Poor and John Bailey was chosen a committy to have the over sight of the afore sd work and to take an a count who it is that works: that those that do not do their part in work may be obliged to do it by a Rate.

(To be continued)

THE SALEM MUSEUM

[Note—These verses by an old friend Mr. George Metzger of Stamford, Connecticut, who writes very good verse, were sent to the undersigned this winter. They show the lasting influence of our museums on young people who visit them, as Mr. Metzger has not been here for many years. “The undercrusted neighbor” refers to the old joke about Lynn having no upper crust. James Duncan Phillips]

Three score and five years afterward—
Those dusty roads from leathered Lynn!
Those hard-earned hours of liberty
When life was all it should have been!

Two boys so often trudged the miles
To the Museum that our Salem meant
And stood for hours in its aisles
Until the dinnerless day was spent!

Then homeward from those seven seas,
Recataloging compasses and binnacles,
Canoes, palanquins, swords and spears,
And ships-in-bottles, miracles!

By a one-time undercrusted Down-East Neighbor

GEOGRAPHICAL AND PLACE NAMES

TAKEN FROM

"A MAP OF THE MOST INHABITED PART OF
NEW ENGLAND NOV. 29, 1774. PUBLISHED
ACCORDING TO ACT BY THOS. JEFFERYS
GEOGRAPHER NEAR CHARING CROSS"

A copy of this map hangs in Moulton Union, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. This transcript was made by Mr. Erik Achorn in 1952.

Along the western boundary of Connecticut is indicated 69,000 acres granted by Konektikut to New York, although elsewhere the spelling is Conecticut. Massachusetts is spelled Massachusetts.

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

RIVERS ENTERING COASTAL WATERS

READING FROM WEST TO EAST AND THEN FROM SOUTH
TO NORTH BEGINNING WITH THE NEW YORK STATE LINE

N, E, S, and W refer to compass points. R.=river or run. B.=brook or branch. C or Cr.=creek. Names printed on the same line indicate continuations (alternate names) of a river, from mouth to source, as do indented names, with the following exceptions: (TR) and (R) indicate a right-bank tributary, and (TL) and (L) indicate a left-bank tributary. The tributaries of some of the larger rivers, indicated by an asterisk (*), are listed separately.

Connecticut Rivers

*Mostly Flowing Into "The Devils Belt, Commonly Called
Long Island Sound"*

Byram R.	Fairfield Mill R.
Horseneck R.	Ash Cr.
Minamok R.	Shatfield, [R. ?]
? (no name)	Pequanu R.
Timok R.	Stratford R:
Stamford Mill R.	(TL, S) Naraguntad R.
Naroatan R.	(TL, N) Shepoag R.
Stoney B.	Housatonik, Westenhok, or
Five Mile R.	Stratford R.
Norwalk R. (E fork)	Housatonik R. (E fork above
Saukatuk R.	Stockbridge)
Sasko R.	Milford Cr.

Oyster R.	Oyster R.
West R.	*Conecticut R.
Mill R.	Blackhead R.
East R., Wartens R.	Three Mile R.
Iron Work or Stone R.	Four Mile R.
Brentford R. (W fork)	Breds B.
West R.	Nahantik R.
Town R.	Jardans B. or Pequaug R.
East R.	*Thames R.
Hemunasset R.	Mistik R.
Indian R.	Pakatuk R. (also Pekatuk)
Mankantosit R.	

Rhode Island

Pakatuk R. (also Pekatuk)	Patuxet R.
Tributaries (R, W to E):	Branches, S to N:
Shannas R.	Float R.
Astrowany R.	Pamaganset R.
Woods R.	Waswamset R.
Wekapaug B. (true W bounds of the Narragansets)	Nasquiatukket R.
Sakotukket R.	*Pantukket or Pawkawtuk or Narroganset R.
Acaquamseut R.	? (no name)
? (no name)	Swansy or Palmers R.
Hunts R.	? (no name)
? (no name)	? (no name)
? (no name)	*Titiquit R.

Massachusetts

Coaxer R., W Br. and E. Br.	Way R. (Boston Harbor)
Pasquan(?)u(?)anset R.	Weymouth R.
Paybiganset R.	Smelt R. ¹
Akushnet R.	Quinzies Cr.
Metapiset R.	Milton R.
Supran R.	Stony B.
(TL) Wayr(?)o(?)yantik R.	Muddy R.
Woosneo R.	Charles R. ² , Deer R. (upper 5 miles)
Red B.	(TR) Mother B.
Herring R. (S side of Cape Cod neck)	(E Br.) Mashapog B.
Sandwich R. (N side of C. Cod neck)	(W Br.) Naponset R.
Eels B. (S side of Plymouth Bay)	Mystick R.
Herring B.	(TL) Malden [R. ?]
? (no name)	Bridges [R. ?]
Jones R.	Pages R.
? (no name)	(TL) Lyn R.
North R.	Burly B.
(TL) Herring B.	Crane B.
? (no name)	Cross B.
	Ipswich R.
	*Merrimak R.

¹ Also has name Monaliquet beside it, but without "R." or "B."

² Cambridge R. on large-scale map of Boston Harbor.

New Hampshire

Hampton R. *Piskataqua or Salmon R.

Massachusetts (Maine)

*Piskataqua or Salmon R.	Spurwink R.
York R.	Stroud Water [R. ?]
Cape Nidduk R.	Presumskot R., Great Tabaga
Josiahs R.	Pond
Megankill R.	Royals R.
? (no name)	Areske R.
Moussum R.	Recompense R.
Kennebunk R.	Bungungamog R.
Swift R.	Kennebek R.
Sawokotuk or Sawko R.	(TL) Ammoreskoghlin or
S Br.=Ossippa R.	Sagadahok R.
N Br.=Pigwakket R.	Sheepskut R.
Goose Fair R.	Dammariskotta R.
Nonsuch R.	Pemmaquid R.
Libbeys R.	

INDIVIDUAL RIVERS

(Read from bottom of column up, i. e., S to N)

Connecticut or Long River—Principal Tributaries³

Ammonoosuck R. (L)	Deerfield R. (R)
Welds R. (R)	(TR, W) Long R.
Mahsisnquamosee R. (R)	(ER, E) South R.
White R. (R)	(TL) North R. (W Br.) and
Waterqueechy or Quatackque-	Green R. (E Br.)
(?)ohe R. (R)	Chickabi R. (L)
Black or Cuscaechwack R. (R)	(TL) Quebang R.
West or Wantastitguck R. (R)	(E. Br.) Ware R.
Aeshuelot R. (L)	(W Br.) Swift R.
Papaguntiquash B. or Millers	Agawam R., Westfield R. (R)
R. (L) Wonomenok Pond	Farmington R., ? Mile R. (R)
and Sunday Pond	Salmon R. (L)
	(E Br.) Jeremys R.
	(W Br.) Dickisons R.

3 Principal and lesser tributaries, south to north: Duck R. (L, W), Pauls R. (R), Deep R. (R), ? (L) Petukunok B. (R, S), Roaring B. (R), Salmon R. (L), Mill R. (R), ? (R), Weeding B. (R), Mill R. (R), Middleton R. (R), Dividend B. (R), Gaffs B. (R), Robins B. (R), Hakkanum R. (L), ? (R), Hartford R. (R), Allens R. (R), Farmington R. (R), Skantik R. (L), Heydon R. (R), Muddy B. (R), Saltonstal [B.?] (L), Freshwater [B.?] (L), Long Meadow B. (L), Three Mile B. (R), Sunsbank B. (L), Agawam R. (R), Mill R. (L), Parkers R. (R), Chikabi R. (L), Willimanset R. (L), ? (L), Butter B. (L), ? (R), Sawmill B. (L), Batchelors B. (L), Monhan R. (R), Mill R. (R), Fort B. (L), Mill R. (R), Colemans B. (L), Mill R. (L), Cow (?) bridge (or Corobridge) B. (R), Muddy B. (L), Mohawks R. (L), ? (L), ? (R), Saw Mill R. (L), Deerfield R. (R), Falls R. (R), Papaguntiquash Branch (L), Stony Branch (L), Bennets R. (R),

*Thames River*⁴

Swift R.	(W Br.) Shatukket R.
Willimant (sic) R.	(E Br.) Quenebaugh R.
Wyndham R.	

Pantukket River

Rises (?) in Quansigamog	West R. (R)
Pond, as Blackstone R.	Swift R. (L), (TR) ? Mile R.
(TR) Halfway (W) and Swift	Peters R. (L)
(E) Rs.	? (R)
Mumford R. (R)	Abbots Run (L)
West R. (L)	Ten Mile R. (L)

Titiquit River, Toron River

(E Br.) Kumipen R.	Raynham R. (R)
(W Br.) Trout R.	Mill R. (R)
? (R)	Wading or Three Mile R. (R)
Metfield R. (L)	Smiths Cr. (L)
? (L)	Nearagansket R. (R)
Ravens B. (L)	? (R)
? (L)	Falls R. (L)
? (R)	

Merrimak or Sturgeon River

(E Br.) Merrimack (!) Branch	Nantikook B. (R)
and Winipissioket Pond	? (L)
(W Br.) Pemigiwaset R.	Pennichuk Branch (R)
Kontakook R. South Branch	Nashuay R. (R)
(R)	Salmon B. (R)
Pennikook Br. (L)	? (L)
Sowkook R. (L)	Stony Pond Branch (R)
Sunkook R. (L) and ? Pond	Beaver B. (L)
Piskaquoag R. (R)	Billerika or Concord R. (R)
Great Kokes [B. ?] (L), ?	Several small tributaries
Pond, and Messubisuk Pond	Paw(?) - w(?)aw or Downson
Little Kokes [B. ?] (L)	R. (L)
Barbasuk R. (R)	Boggy Meadow B. (L)
Sowhegan R. (R)	Barnaby B. (L)

Miller R. (L), Ashuelot R. (L), ? (R), ? (R), Whetstone R. (R), West R. (R), Sextons R. (R), Cold R. (L), Williams R. (R), Black R. (R), Great Sugar R. and Sunnipee Pond (L), Water-queechy R. (R), ? (L), ? (L), White R. (R), Stebbins R. (R), Wacte R. (R), Hastings B. (L), Mahsisnquamoosee R. (R), Umpammonoosuck R. (L), Welds R. (R), Ammonoosuck R. (L).

4 Tributaries, south to north: Trading Cr. (R), Great Pond B. (R, S); (east branch:) Rowlands B. (R), Mouseshon R. (L), Nathumy B. (R), Five Mile R. (L), ? (R), French R. (L), Jennings B. (L); (west branch:) Little R. (L), Beaver R. (R), Beaver B. (L), Willimanti (sic) R. (L), (TL of Willimanti) Manchoag R., Hope R. (R), Seungan (?)u(?)yk R. (R), ? (L), Little R. (R), Mill R. (R).

*Piskataqua or Salmon River*⁵

Lovels Pond	? (L)
? (R)	Sturgeon Cr. (L)
Little R. (L)	Kocheko R. (R)
Great Works R. (L)	Three small tributaries

COASTAL FEATURES

Reading eastward from the New York State line

Lions Tongue	Sow and Pigs
Patricks Is.	Slokums Harbor
Elizabeth Pt.	Clarks Cove
? (unnamed point)	Skansant Neck
? (unnamed islands)	Naskutukket Bay
Long Neck Pt.	West I.
Norwalk Is.	Buzzards Bay
Fairfield Bay	Elizabeth Is.
Ship Harbor (Stratford)	Kittihunt I.
New Haven Harbor	Slokums I.
South Point	Tinkers I.
Thimble Is.	Nashawn I.
Sachems Head	Woods Hole
Falcon Is.	Cape Malebar or Sandy Pt.
Guilford Bay	(Chatham)
Hemunasset Pt.	Head of Pamet
Duck Is.	Race Pt.
Conn. R.	Belinsgate Pt.
Pipestaves Pt.	Yarmouth Harbor
Black Pt.	Sandy Pt.
Nahantik Is.	Murrays Cliffs
? (unnamed islands)	Monument Pt.
Muttons I.	Sandy Pt.
Pakatuk R.	Gurnet Pt.
Watch Pt.	Brant Rock
Beabeecks Pond (salt?)	Marshfield Pt.
Salt Pond	Scituate Harbor
Quankoragok P[t].	Konohasset Harbor
Salt Pond	Harden Rocks ⁶
Ninigret P[t].	Point Alderton
Judeth Pt.	Boston Harbor
Whale Rock	Pulleins Pt. ⁷
Beaverstail	Nahant Pt.
Kettlebottom	Cape Ann
Brentons Pt. and Reef	Plumb I.
Seakonnet Pt.	Salisbury Pt.
Gooseberry Neck	Great Boars Head
Hen and Chickens	Isles of Sholes

5 Tributaries of Exeter Bay and Little Bay, south to north: Exeter R., Lamprey R. (TL Tuckaway R., North R.), Oyster R., ?, Ising Glass R.

6 On large-scale map of Boston Harbor, these are Hardings Rocks.

7 On large-scale map of Boston Harbor, this is Pulling Point.

Locks Pt.	Wood Is., Southaks I.
Newcastle I.	Stratton Is.
Piskataqua Harbor	Black Pt.
Gerrishs I.	Richmond I.
Cutts I.	Cape Elizabeth
Braveboat Harbor	Kasko Bay
York Nubbles	Small Pt.
Cape Nidduk or Bald Head	Segwin I.
? (unnamed islands)	Cape Nawiggon
Cape Porpus	Dammariskotta I.
Timber I.	The Cove
Sawko Bay	Pemmaquid Pt.
Winter Harbor	

PLACE NAMES

Generally, places are listed from N to S and/or from W to E. Place names on the same line or indented are within the same township lines.

CONNECTICUT

Litchfield Co.

Wiatiak or Salisbury	Goshen
Sharon	Litchfield
Kent	Colebrook
New Milford	Winchester
Canaan	Torrington
Cornwall	Harwinton
(Kent)	Hartland
Woodbury	Barkhamsted
Norfolk	New Hartford

Fairfield Co.

New Fairfield	Reading
Ridgfield	Fairfield
Norwalk	Newtown
Stamford, Greenwich	Ripton, Stratford
Danbury	

Hartford Co.

Simsbury	East Windsor, Toland, Stafford,
Farmington, New Cambridge,	Bolton, Hebron
Quebek, Kensington, South-	Glassenbury
ington	(Middletown)
Windsor, Hartford	Hadham East
Wetherfield	Somers
Middletown	Willington
Hadham	Colchester

New Haven Co.

Waterbury, Wallingford, Dur-	Derby, Milford
ham, Guilford, Brentford	New Haven

Windham Co.

Union	Pomfret
Ashford, Coventry	Mortlake
Mansfield	Canterbury
Windham	Plainfields
Lebanon	Killingsleys ⁸
Woodstock	Voluntown

New London Co.

Killingworth, Seabrook	(blank township east of Pres-
Lime, New London	ton)
Norwich	Groton, Stonington
Preston	

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATION

Providence Co.

Glocester	Smithfield
Scituate, Coventry	Providence, Warwick

Exeter Co.

West Greenwich ⁹	Richmond
Greenwich ⁹	South Kingston
Exeter	North Kingston, Updykes
Westerley	Harb[or]

County of Bristol

(no town names)

Newport Co.

Prudence I. ¹⁰	Tiverton
Portsmouth	Fagland
Middletown	Little Compton
Newport	

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Massachusetts west of the Connecticut has few township lines. Names without such lines are preceded by an asterisk (*). In many cases, even in eastern Massachusetts, it is impossible to be sure of township lines, on account of the rivers.

Hampshire Co.

*Fort Massachusetts or Hossek	(large blank)
*Westernmost Township	*Pentusok (approx. Pittsfield)

⁸ It is impossible to tell whether Plainsfield is separate from Canterbury, or Killingsley from Pomfret.

⁹ As there is no county line, it is impossible to tell whether these belong in Providence Co. or Exeter Co.

¹⁰ There are other islands which may be in Newport Co., but it is impossible to tell.

*Stockbridge	*Coghrans F[ort].
*Upper Housatonik	(No. 1 Boston) Rices F[ort].
*No. V Housatonik	(blank)
*No. II Housatonik	Hatfield
*Sheffield	Northampton
*Takonik	Springfield West
—11	Westfield
(blank)	Suffield
New Framingham	
No. 3 Boston	No. 2 Boston (Colerain and
(blank)	Leyden)
*No. IV Housatonik	Fallfight Town (Bernardston)
*Housatonik Commonage	Sheldons Fort (Turners Falls)
*No. III Housatonik	Deerfield
(blank)	
(blank strip along mountains,	Northfield
from north to south)	Sunderland
	Hadley
	Springfield East
	Enfield
*Pelham Fort	
No. 1 Boston	Canada (to Roxbury)
(large blank)	Pequioug
No. 4	*(To Wells)
(large blank)	*(To Salem)
*Blandford	Petersham
*Granville	No. 4
	Narraganset
*Shirly F[ort].	Pelham, Greenwich
(No. 1 Boston)	Cold Spring
(large blank)	Kingstown
(No. 4)	Brimfield
(large blank)	
*(Blandford)	(Canada, to Roxbury)
*(Granville)	

Worcester Co.

New Ipswich	Old Rutland
No. 6 Narraganset	Leicester
NE District	Gore (10,000 acres)
NW District	Oxford
Hardwick	Dudley
Grant to Brantre	Douglass
Brookfield	Farms
Western	Leominster
Sturbridge	Lancaster
	Holden
Canada (to Dorchester), Lun-	Shrewsbury
enburgh	Worcester
No. 2 Narraganset	Sutton
West Wing Dist., Rutland	Uxbridge

11 Indicates state lines in western and central Massachusetts.

Lancaster¹²
Harvard
Bolton

Westborough
Grafton
Hopkinton
Mendon

Middlesex Co.

Townshend
Groton
Stow
Marlborough
Dunstable¹³
Westford
Concord
Sudbury
Sherburn, Holliston
Medway
Drakut
Chelmsford
Billerika
Bedford

Lexington
Waltham, Weston
Newton
Tewksbury
Wilmington
Woburn
Watertown
Reading
Stoneham, Medford, Malden,
Chelsea, Winisimit (East
Boston)
Charlestown
Cambridge

Essex Co.

Methuen
Andover
Haverhill
Mitchell Falls
Bradford
Rowley
Topsfield
Middleton

Lyn, Salem
Beverly
Marblehead
Almsbury
Salisbury
Newbury
Ipswich
Wenham
Glocester

Suffolk Co.

Bellingham
Wrentham
Medfield
Needham, Natick
Deadham
Walpole
Stoughton
Brooklin

Roxbury
Boston¹⁴
Dorchester
Milton
Brantree
Weymouth
Hingham

Bristol Co.

Attleborough
Rehoboth or Seakonk
Barrington
Norton
Easton
Taunton, Raynham

Dighton
Swansy
Berkley
Free town
Dartmouth

¹² There are two townships labelled Lancaster. The preceding one appears to be present-day Princeton.

¹³ Half in New Hampshire.

¹⁴ There is nothing to indicate which county Boston is in.

Plymouth Co.

Bridgewater	Rochester
Abington	Monument Land (Manomet)
Scituate	Sandwich
Marshfield	Falmouth ¹⁵
Kingston	Barnstable
Hanover	Yarmouth
Pembroke	Harwich
Duxbury	Monimoy or Chatham
Halifax	Eastham
Middleborough	Silver Springs (South Well-
Plympton	fleet?)
Plymouth	Belinsgate (Wellfleet)
Wareham	Province Town

VERMONT¹⁶

(The listing begins in the southwest)

Pownal	Manchester
Stamford	Winhall
Cumberland	(land not granted)
Halifax	Thomlinson
Canada (to Gallop)	No. 1 Rockingham
Guildford	Rupert
Hinsdels F[ort].	Dorset
Hinsdale (mostly in New	(blank township)
Hampshire)	(land not granted)
Bennington	Pawlet
Woodford	Danby
Draper	Harwich
Marlborough	(land not granted)
Brattleborough	Andover
Ft. Dummer	Hamstead
Shaftsbury	(blank township)
Glastonbury	Wells
Somerset	Tinmouth
(land not granted)	Wallingford
New Fane ,Townshend	(land not granted)
Pultney	Ludlow
Fulham	Cavendish
Arlington	Weathersfield
Sunderland	Poultney
Stratton	Clarendon
(land not granted)	Shrewsbury
(Townshend, New Fane)	Saltash
Westminster	Reading
Sandgate	Windsor

¹⁵ It seems incredible that all of the preceding could be in one township, but there are no lines. Rochester is separated by a river.

¹⁶ In northern Vermont the townships are badly out of line, and elsewhere it is often hard to know what to believe. Thus we find the opposite lineup: Whiting—Orwell; Sudbury—Leicester; Dunbar—Neshboke; Hugh barton—Pitsford.

Castleton	(blank township)
Rutland	Conith
(land not granted)	(blank township)
Hugh barton ¹⁶	Panton
Pitsford	Newhaven
(land not granted)	Pococke
Kellington	(land not granted)
Bridgewater	(blank township)
Woodstock	Ferresborough
Hereford	Monckton
Dunbar	(land not granted)
Neshbole	(blank township)
(land not granted)	Topsham
Stockbridge	Woodbury
Bernard	Charlotte
Pomfret	Hinesborough
Hartford	(land not granted)
Sudbury	Shelburn
Leicester	St. George
(land not granted)	New Huntingdon
Linfield	Duxbury
Sharon	Moretown
Norwich	Berlin
Orwell	(land not granted)
(land not granted)	Peachum
Tunbridge	Rygate
Strafford	(off map, N)
Thetford	Betton
Bridport	Waterbury
Addison	Middlesex
Coventry	(land not granted)
Salisbury	Barnet
(land not granted)	(off map, N)
Eastham	Stow
Malden	Worcester
Fairlee	(land not granted)
Weybridge	To Brunswick (Concord)
Middlebury	Lunenburg
(land not granted)	Guild Hall

NEW HAMPSHIRE

(The listing begins in the southwest)

Hinsdale (partly in Vt.)	Hampstead
Chesterfield, Winchester	Plastow
Canada (to Sylvester)	Newtown
(blank, southern part of Prov-	Southampton
ince Lands)	No. 1 Westmoreland
(To Ipswich)	Lower Ashuelot
Groton Grant	(Province Lands)
Hollis	Canada (to Rowley)
Dunstable Precinct	Province Lands
Dunstable (partly in Mass.)	Sowhegan West or No. 3
Nottingham	Narraganset
Pelham	Merrimak

Litchfield	(Nottingham)
No. 2 Walpole	Barrington
Upper Ashuelet (sic)	(Two Mile Stroke)
Province Lands	Dover
Peterborough	Somersworth
Province Lands	Cornish
Canada (to Salem)	Croydon
(Sowhegan West or No. 3	(blank)
Narraganset)	Heidlebourg
Lanestown or New Boston	Plainfield
(N of Sowhegan W)	Grantham
Sowhegan East or No. 5	(blank township)
Narraganset	Alexandria
Coffs Town (N of Sowhegan E)	Stevens
Harry or Tings Town	Canterbury
London Derry	(Chichester)
(blank)	(Barrington)
Kingstown	Rochester
Hampton	Lebanon
No. 4 Charles Town	Enfield
No. 9 Lempster	Grafton
(Province Lands), Petersburg	(Alexandria)
(To Beverly)	Emeriss Town
Gorham Town, Bow	(Canterbury)
(Harry or Tings Town)	Barnstead
Derryfield, Chester	(Rochester)
Brentford	Hanover
Epping	Canaan
Exeter	Cardigan
New Market	New Chester
Stratham	(wild)
Buckingham	Gilmantown
Greenville	(Barnstead)
No. 8 New Concord	(Kings Wood)
No. 7 Hilsborough	New Durham
No. 6 Tods Towns	Lime
No. 5 New Hopkinton	Dorchester
Sunkook	Cockermouth
Pennikook or Rumford	Plymouth
Allens	(wild)
Nottingham	(Kings Wood)
Durham	(New Durham)
Greenland	Middle Town
Newington	Orford
Portsmouth, Rye	(blank township)
(blank township)	(blank township)
Newport	Compton
(blank)	Holderness
Dantzick	(wild)
Perrys Town	(Middle Town)
Rye Town	Weber Town
Contoocook	(blank township)
(Pennikook or Rumford)	Warren
Chichester	Rumney
Epsom	Thornton

Sandwich	Lovels Fort
(wild)	Lyman
(Weber Town)	Chiswick
Haverhill	Franconia
Coventry	(wild)
Peeling	(Lovels Fort)
(wild)	(wild from the Conn. R. to the
Bath	Maine line)
Landaff	Lancaster
Lincoln	(wild)
(wild)	Stonington
(nameless township)	(wild)

MAINE

(From southernmost point NE)

Kittery	Sawko or Sako (no township
York	lines)
Wells Town	No. 1 Narraganset
Arundel	Gorham Town
Biddiford	New Marblehead
Scarborough	New Boston
Falmouth	New Gloucester
New Kasko	Lebanon
North Yarmouth	(blank strip)
Brunswick	(Philips Town)
George Fort	(wild)
Topsham	No. 2 Narraganset
Berwick	(Gorham Town)
Philips Town	(New Marblehead)
(wild)	(New Boston)
	(New Gloucester)

GLOUCESTER AND THE SURINAM TRADE

By ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

The Surinam Trade! What was it? A commerce in fish and molasses between Gloucester and Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, a town at the mouth of the Surinam River. Surinam was another name for Dutch Guiana. Gloucester men knew the place very well, especially those, and they were many, who made comfortable fortunes there, and on them built large ones in Boston, New York and elsewhere.

When did the Surinam trade flourish? From just before 1800 well on into the nineteenth century. Was it pursued from other Essex County ports? Yes, but relatively little. It was Gloucester's "specialty" says Samuel Morison who continues: "Why Gloucester should have gotten a grip on this trade is a mystery, but certain it is that well on in the nineteenth century Gloucester vessels were better known in Dutch Guiana than those of any other North American port." Far be it from me to explain what is a mystery to Professor Morison. Nor can I solve the further mystery that Gloucester has handed down and recorded next to nothing of a commerce that made a great deal of money and was engaged in by many of her citizens, owners who stayed at home in their counting-rooms, captains who were often owners, and sailors who manned the Surinam fleet of square riggers. Furthermore, its personnel was peculiarly American to the end, an end which considerably overlapped the time when citizens of the Canadian Provinces and the Portuguese began to migrate to and fish out of Gloucester in ever-increasing numbers. A partial list of the names of owners and captains between 1810 and 1860 offers evidence of this. Pearce, Cunningham, Rogers, Herrick, Homans, Day, Somes, Giles, Woodbury, Davis, Corliss, Sargent, Mansfield, Allen, Parsons, Foster, Stanwood, Babson, Grover, King, Rowe, Tucker.

Was the Surinam trade connected with the slave trade? Yes to a slight extent, but far less than has been sometimes assumed by a few romantic souls who incline to dwell upon the shady aspects of the past, piracy, copperheadism

or whatever else as a means of conferring interest, even distinction on the present. That slavery and the slave trade played a very important part in the economy and life of Dutch Guiana down to 1863 is a fact. In Gloucester feeling against the dirty business was early. It increased steadily as the years went on. Those who had anything to do with it, a small number at first, and fewer as time passed kept the fact as much as possible under cover. There appears to have been a sort of gentlemen's agreement among those who knew to hold their tongues partly because they did not want to antagonize neighbors; because they wanted no part in the better than thou attitude; because of loyalty to family reputation.

Such exact knowledge of the Surinam trade as there is comes from Custom records, logs, journals, manifests, occasional old letters and the newspapers of the day. It seems not to have taken a strong hold on the common imagination and, for this reason, not to have become a long-lived tradition. Not at least in anything like the degree that the older commerce with China, India and Russia did. It is safe to say that nobody is living today who had any direct connection with the trade. The latest reference to its conduct that I know of, is to a Capt. William Tucker who is credited with ninety-three voyages to Paramaribo between 1843 and 1881. This agrees with the fact that voyages were made, though ever fewer and further apart, after 1860 which is the usually named year for the end of the trade. That it was carried on from Boston after it ceased in Gloucester is true. A significant fact bearing on this point as viewed from the Gloucester angle is that George H. Rogers, for years the highly successful and leading Gloucester Surinam merchant moved to Boston in 1860 and did his business there. He was not the only one.

Surinaming, as it was called, meant that fishermen who had been mackereling in the summer would ship as hands on vessels starting for Paramaribo in the Autumn. Counting on an average fifty-day voyage out, a month or more in port selling the cargo, buying and loading another with fifty-days for the home stretch meant spending what was winter in Gloucester under summer skies. The bad part of this five and sometimes six-month trip came with the

North Atlantic storms and making the home harbor in March. To sight Eastern Point and then have to put to sea again, pounding about for days was not uncommon. It is a remarkable fact, however, that during the long history of Surinaming out of Gloucester that there was never an outright loss of a single vessel and crew. This is all the more remarkable because many of the Surinam barques and brigs were old when put into the trade having been purchased in Boston, Salem and elsewhere at second-hand. Very few were built to order while it was the other way round with the fishing vessels which were notoriously well constructed for the most part as well as skillfully manned. But the fishing losses in men and vessels were staggering year in and out. The question raised by these strikingly divergent yet comparative facts was usually answered by saying that the fishing "Banks" meant more dangerous waters than those sailed by a Surinamer.

The outbound cargoes consisted mainly of dried fish, hake in particular because it was cheap, and mackerel. Other items were flour, general provisions, tobacco, root vegetables, cabbages when ice came into use, even furniture and horses. No small item of the cargo, if it can be called such, was shooks, the staves and headings for the molasses casks and sugar barrels which were set up upon arrival. A Gloucester cooper often made the voyage as one of the crew. The homeward cargoes consisted mainly of molasses and sugar. The molasses was made into rum at the well-known Pearce distillery. This rum was held in high esteem for its purity and flavor. On rare occasions a bottle of it even yet appears. Cocoa and coffee were important cargo items. And peanuts, plantains, oranges, tamarinds, pickeled limes and raisins appear on the manifests.

As there were no banks or paper money in Paramaribo goods not taken in exchange were paid for in gold and silver specie, continental, for the most part Dutch. This was collected by the captains in sacks which not infrequently were heavy enough to have to be conveyed by wheel-barrow from the home wharf to the owner's house or the Gloucester Bank. Holdups were not known on Cape Ann in those days. The cargo was often transferred from

the Surinamer, while lying in the stream or entrance to the inner harbor, to a packet which took it to Boston for sale. This of course was to save a second handling. The little fleet of packets and their stevedores were duly constituted parts of the business as a whole. Not infrequently these Surinam vessels brought interesting and sometimes beautiful, continental, usually Dutch, silver, old and new, candlesticks, salvers, dishes, and flat ware—curious deep-bowled pointed spoons and villainously long sharp-tined forks. In this way some fine, seventeenth century Delft pottery and much of the contemporary blue and gray earthenware found its way to Gloucester. Also the handsome but not lovely white, gold and light blue china with mottoes in Dutch on the cups and common white crockery with black stencil views of Paramaribo. At the height of the trade in the late forties and the fifties the captains of the Surinam barques and brigs were the consignees of the outbound and buyers of the return cargoes. To this rule there were of course exceptions.

Finally a few figures will suffice to give a clear, general idea of the magnitude of Gloucester commerce with Paramaribo, the capital of Dutch Guiana, a city of sixteen thousand inhabitants in 1854; city well described as Amsterdam by other waters. These other waters were the mile-wide, tidal Surinam river.

“Brig Pleiades 590 hogsheads, 28 tierces, (tierce, a cask between a hogshhead and a barrel) 20 barrels of molasses. George Homans Rogers. Largest cargo ever.” This from the Gloucester Telegraph, March 7, 1846.

“Brig Amazon 326 hogsheads, 25 tierces, 31 barrels molasses, 63 bags, 4 barrels cocoa, 16 bags coffee, 600 pounds of old copper. Captain Edward Babson.” 1845.

In -1857 5000 hogsheads of molasses and a 1000 hogsheads of sugar were brought to Gloucester and imports as a whole for this year were valued at \$400,000.00, exports about two-thirds as much. The abolition of slavery in Dutch Guiana soon after this resulted in the abandonment of many of the large plantations and a consequent decline and prostration of the business in Gloucester where the memory of the Surinam trade is now very faint and actual memorials of it relatively few.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN CLOCKS. By Brooks Palmer. 1950, 318 pp., quarto, cloth, illus. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$10.00.

Brooks Palmer has here presented the story of American clocks and watches from the mention of Tower clocks in the early records of 1650, to the beginning of the twentieth century. First there is a brief history of the development of the clock and a description of the four major types—Tower, Tall, Wall and Shelf. The illustrations which follow are arranged in chronological order with descriptive captions. Shown clearly are some of the movements and maker's labels which add greatly to the value of the book. After the illustrations is a list of over 6,000 American clock and watchmakers with as full information as Mr. Palmer has been able to obtain. Emphasis has been placed on the illustrations and list of makers, so that identification of any American clock or watch may be possible in regard to date or maker's name. The Essex Institute's collection of clocks is well represented. Of interest to our readers is the fact that Mr. Palmer was born in Haverhill, Mass. Recommended to all libraries with fine arts departments.

THE PENNOCKS OF PRIMITIVE HALL. Written for the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania. By George Valentine Massey II. 1951, 139 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. West Chester, Penna.: Chester County Historical Society.

This is a genealogy of the descendants of Christopher Pennock who came from Cork, Ireland, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Some of the land (Primitive Hall) purchased by Christopher's wife's father in 1683 is still in the possession of the Pennocks. Christopher Pennock was a Quaker who was persecuted in Ireland for his beliefs by imprisonment and fines. Family records and letters, Friends' records, and public documents add greatly to the portrayal of this substantial colonial Pennsylvania Quaker family. There is an index. Recommended to genealogical libraries.

MASTERPIECES OF FURNITURE IN PHOTOGRAPHS AND MEASURED DRAWINGS. By Verna Cook Salomonsky. 1953, 224 pp., quarto, cloth, illus. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. Price, \$6.00.

This is a new and improved edition of a book first published in 1931 under the title, *Masterpieces of Furniture Design*. The measured drawings and photographs are ideal for the designer or manufacturer of furniture. Amateur craftsmen will find some pieces that can be made readily and others will add certain details to their work which will give it a more professional touch. Included in this book are tables, chairs, desks, chests and couches from the sixteenth century through the early nineteenth century. Five objects from the Essex Institute collections have been depicted. A bibliography compiled by Adolph Placzek, librarian at the Columbian School of Architecture, gives further sources for measured drawings.

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NORTH SIDE OF CHESTNUT STREET LOOKING EAST WITH THE SOUTH CHURCH SPIRE
BUILT BY McINTIRE

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXXXIX OCTOBER, 1953

No. 4

SALEM IN THE NINETIES

By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

There is something about Salem which is different from any other town even in New England. In spite of the fact that the last ships left long ago and the smell of spice and sandalwood has long since been wafted away, there is an atmosphere about the town which catches and holds your imagination, and makes you think back and wonder who built its houses, who walked its streets and what genius lent to the people their taste and courage and power to build and design as they did.

In that grid-iron of streets surrounded by Broad Street on the South, Federal Street on the North, Summer Street on the East and Flint Street on the West is to be found the very cream of what remains of the old Town. Much of it was built during the classic days of the early Republic, when the wealth which flowed in from the Indies enabled the sternly trained Puritan spirits to develop in the light of their classical education. Stern old sea captains who could, on occasions, use the name of God for other purposes than prayer, were proud of sons who could read and speak Latin, and knew more of Greek than most of us know of French. It was a strange blend of aggressiveness and originality tempered by severe discipline and classic culture.

Chestnut Street is the finest example of the classic Federalist architecture in America. Its houses were built in the early nineteenth century by McIntire and other builders just as good, though less advertised. It represents beautiful, restrained proportion, ornamented with lovely classic

windows and porches. The simple external lines and the dignified interior of Hamilton Hall illustrate the same epoch as did also the wonderful South Church burned, alas!, in 1905. Other beautiful houses of the same period are scattered along the other streets, but Chestnut Street has the best.

If you have the good fortune to get inside some of those old houses, you may find them filled with strange and lovely things you would never expect to see, and the lady who receives you may show you the lovely tortoise shell comb grandfather brought home from Batavia for grandmother, and then ramble on about other things—"Yes, that lovely mirror was probably loot of the French Revolution. Great grandfather bought it in Bordeaux in 1796. Grandfather got the carved chessmen in Canton. Notice that the little balls in the pedestals all move. That lacquer box came home on the *Margaret*, the first American ship to visit Japan. Would you like to see grandmother's Canton dinner set?

Then there are in the area many specimens of the later Provincial period. Some of the squat square hip-roofed variety like Judge Pyncheon's house on Summer Street, now mutilated, but not beyond redemption, or the lovely Whipple House on Andover Street still in good repair, or the Thomas Barnard House on upper Essex Street, which housed the courageous old minister who pleaded so earnestly with Colonel Leslie against bloodshed at North Bridge. Many lovely gambrelled-roofed houses are to be found, like the famous Cabot-Endicott House where lived Cleveland's Secretary of State, the Ropes Memorial where the dying Judge Ropes was mobbed just before the Revolution for refusing to renounce his king. Then there are many houses whose tenants reach back to the very founding of the colony. The Pickering House on Broad Street built before 1660, (probably years before) on land owned by Pickerings from the first grant and still owned by them, where was born Timothy Pickering, George Washington's Secretary of State and Postmaster, and also a succession of astronomers, mathematicians and jurists. That very curious little group of buildings east of the Pickering house



THE CUSTOM HOUSE WHERE HAWTHORNE WORKED, WITH THE HOUSE OF BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD,
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY UNDER MADISON

contains more houses built before 1700 than after, and there are a dozen other seventeenth century houses scattered about the district. There are picturesque examples of all these types of houses, and the larger ones still have many of their quaint stables, outbuildings and gardens.

The finest museum pieces of the collection are perhaps the Pickering House, the Peirce-Nichols House, the Phillips-Shreve House, the Cabot-Endicott House, the Whipple House, and Hamilton Hall (I should add the Pyncheon House if restored); but if you removed all these, you would still have a finer collection than in any town in America.

In addition to the men mentioned, you can walk about and say "there lived for twenty-three years Nathaniel Bowditch, the most famous mathematician America ever produced;" "in that house worked Count Rumford when he was a boy;" "here lived Nathaniel Hawthorne for a few years;" "in that house lived Stephen C. Phillips, first candidate of the Free Soil Party for Governor of Massachusetts and long a member of Congress;" "there lived Leverett Saltonstall, first mayor of Salem;" and I might add many more.

At one celebration the citizens living in the houses flew the house flags that used to fly proudly at the mastheads of the ships owned by the old merchants who had lived in the houses. Many of those flags had flown over twenty or more ships, and were as well-known in Calcutta or Canton or Valparaiso as those of any house in the world in their time. Little is yet changed since they put away their spyglasses for the last time.

This area is a monument to lives well lived in the early days of our national history. Its gardens, its doorways and its shaded streets lined with houses, be they beautiful or just quaint, bear testimony to a life of culture, integrity and character, and a desire for the finer graces of life rather than a scramble for wealth and an ostentatious display of it. How long will it last? We have already seen the lovely Pyncheon House despoiled, and the despoiler is fast reaching out for others. It cannot be denied that wealth has passed from Salem to Boston, New York, and

the West. To them we must look to preserve what was their forefathers.

I

THE AROMA OF THE SEA

Sixty years ago the last faint aroma of the Indies had not yet faded from the harbor front of Salem. If one walked down to Beverly bridge on one's way to Beverly cove, in order to save that extra nickel which began at the other end of the bridge, and looked down toward the ocean, the two lighthouses of Baker's Island gleamed back at you, shining white in the afternoon sunshine, just where they had been placed nearly a century before to guide in the ships loaded with silks and spices and pepper from the far away lands of the eastern seas. The lighthouses were by no means twins. The older was short and stubby, while the younger was tall and slender, a device for differentiation thought out long before the mechanical device of the timed twinkle was invented.

If you walked along any of the great beaches from Marblehead to Lynn, or more likely still at Cape Ann, you would come across curious shaped beams with two inch planks, fastened together with tree nails and spikes, all battered and banged by rocks and waves, but so strongly fastened together that it seemed as if nothing could separate them. If you chanced on some old inhabitant, he might be able to tell you perhaps that the fragment was part of the Ship *Hercules* wrecked fifty or seventy-five years before, or of a fishing smack lost a winter or two earlier. There are no such mementoes of sea tragedies today. The ocean takes the iron ship to itself far too quickly.

Those were the days of the great schooners, and there were certain to be a few of them in the roadstead at anchor, with bare poles, and painted the almost inevitable black. There were more three masted ones than any other, but four and five masters were common enough, and now and again one with six or seven were seen. They carried the heavier cargoes in bulk, coal, lumber and fertilizer, chiefly, but sometimes ice. If you saw, by any chance a white one,



HOUSE OF RICHARD DERBY WHERE ELIAS HASKET DERBY WAS BORN
WITH THE HOUSE OF SIMON FORRESTER BEYOND

you were sure it carried ice from one of the great ice-houses on the Kennebec, to New York or some other hot and unsavory spot. Probably somebody knew why they stopped in our harbor, why they did not stay longer, and why they went when they did, but most of us regarded them as part of the mystery of the sea, were glad to admire their graceful lines, and knew they would disappear some day as quietly as they came. If you rowed down and inspected them, you saw a weather-beaten sailor or two looking over the rail, or perhaps an unspeakably dirty cook. On the stern might be the *Sally Ann*, Eastport, Maine, the *Ocean Queen*, Lunenburg, or the *Katherine P. Davis*, Wiscasset. Many were comparatively new, but dirty and unkempt; some were in the last stages of senile decrepitude, but now and again you saw one that showed the best traditions of the sea well maintained,—decks well scrubbed, paint bright and fresh, and sails and rigging clean and whole.

The Wharves

The wharves of the city were still important, though chiefly for coal and lumber. Schooners still came up to the wharf just below North Bridge, and as you looked over the rail of what was really a bridge on Washington Street, where the water from the Mill Pond emptied into the harbor, one or two lumber and coal schooners were usually unloading on the narrow slip which was all that was left of the original harbor. Derby wharf was largely deserted, as it never succeeded in getting itself turned into either a coal wharf or a lumber wharf. The big square warehouses still stood in a row down the middle of the wharf, and one day we were almost persuaded that the times of the India trade had come back. The *Mindoro*, last of the Salem square riggers, was hauled slowly alongside. We gloried in the smell of tarred rigging and the mounting tiers of yards which began at the great main top. Alas, she came but for a little while, and was then dismasted and spent her last days being dragged about as a coal hulk.

Phillips' Wharf was already a somewhat primitive coal depot with some activity. There was an elevated platform

on which big wheelbarrows operated. The coal was twitched up in great wooden buckets from the holds of the schooners lying alongside, dumped into these wheelbarrows which were pushed by men along the elevated platform to the bin for that variety of coal, and then dumped. The great steel arches for the cheap and rapid handling of large quantities, were erected later. The Philadelphia and Reading pier was already built, and effectively handled much of the coal needed for the great manufacturing activity of Lowell, Lawrence, and Manchester. An obnoxious watchman there usually kept one off of that pier, but over the other wharves you could roam at will and even peek into the old warehouses, which still stood on Derby Wharf and Phillips' Wharf just about as they were built seventy-five or a hundred years before. Phillips' Wharf looked exactly like the picture of it in the Marine Hall when it was called Crowninshield's Wharf.

Most of the warehouses were deserted, but in one or two you might perchance find a dory builder at work, or an old sailmaker who was almost ashamed to admit that he now made awnings. Even the warehouses which were empty had loose doors and open windows so a small person with proper curiosity could easily find an entrance.

Those who knew anything of the history of those wharves always lived on the hope that on some beam in an obscure corner they might find a little tin box marked "Muster of Indigo" or a nutmeg in some crack in the floor, or even a handful of pepper corns in some knothole. One never did, but there was an unmistakable smell of unknown lands still there, compounded mayhap of sandlewood and tarred ropes and manila hemp and tea or cloves or mace perhaps. Yes, you could really get into the spirit of it as you wandered down Derby Wharf to the little lighthouse on the end, and there, confronted by the Marblehead shore covered with little bristly cedar trees and not a house from Forest River to Naugus Head, look back at the beautiful old Customs House still in its original beauty, and flanked by some lovely old houses whose decaying loveliness was cloaked by the distance.

Phillips' Wharf still remained with its old warehouses



DERBY WHARF WITH THE LAST SALEM SHIP TIED ALONGSIDE

as it was in the day when the Crowninshields unloaded on its tip the cargoes which the Privateer *America* had captured from the English Indiamen. The old counting room had not changed since Stephen C. Phillips had the rack built outside the window of his office on the second floor so he could lay a spy glass over the ship channel and identify the *St. Paul* as she came in from Manila half the world away. Pictures of the *St. Paul*, the *Sapphire*, the *Sukey*, and other vessels adorned the walls, and over the desk of the downstairs office hung one of those fascinating long panels of an ocean full of whales pursued by boats (or boats pursued by whales, you were not sure which) with a ship in the middle which looked as if it were burning up, but was only trying out the whale oil from the blubber stripped from the carcass alongside.

The Houses on the Water Front

But to get the whole waterfront in the right perspective, you should have started on Essex Street about where the great merchant William Gray used to live, and still in 1890 an old fashioned hotel set well back from the street, with a wide piazza overlooking a cobblestone yard. Then walking down Central Street between the old Custom House building, and the quaint old bank designed by Bulfinch with its front steps going down right and left, you approached the bridge over what was still the upper harbor. A great carved spread eagle still adorned the old Custom House. Of course, the Custom House moved away three quarters of a century or so before, but the eagle had not yet been removed. Things progressed slowly in Salem in the declining years. Beyond the corner where the old Grimshaw House, made famous by Hawthorne's stories jutted out into the street, you should swing to the left down Fish Street, past the old blacksmith shop which used to repair the chain cables that had parted in Manila, or perhaps in the ice at Archangel, and so make your way around the old burial hill into upper Derby Street called Wapping in the old days. There the harbor presses toward you on the right, and you are beginning to get the feel of the old shipping days. That building

was a sailors' grogshop, no doubt, and the next one a ship chandlery. The words "Sail loft" are still faintly discernable on the large building next to it. You pass the end of Union Street, in which a few doors up Nathaniel Hawthorne happened to have been born in the two-hundred-year-old Pickman House. The lovely old gray unpainted house then in the midst of a tangled garden, shaded by a magnificent elm tree, was bound to attract your notice, and well it might, for there lived and died Richard Derby, merchant, patriot, and founder of the Derby fortunes. There were born his sons Richard, a most active member of the Provincial Congress, Captain John, who was one of the owners of the ship *Columbia* that discovered the Columbia River, and finally Elias Hasket, the greatest of all pioneers of American commerce. Then go on past the mansion of that wild Irish privateersman, Captain Simon Forrester, whose house stands terraced up above his wharf across the street. Hard-fighting, hard-drinking captain, it must be put to his credit that he won and kept a great fortune, and better yet, the love of gentle Rachael Hawthorne, whose sweet features still win the hearts of all who look at her portrait in the Essex Institute.

A couple of doors below is the Old Ladies' Home, famous as the house of Benjamin W. Crowninshield, one of the two distinguished brothers of the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons, whose privateer *America* in the War of 1812, gained almost as much glory as that war provided. His father used to live next door, but that house was torn down when the Custom House was built in 1818. Millions of dollars which have gone to the up-building of our country have been taken in at that Custom House and vessels have been cleared for more different ports than from probably any customhouse in the Country. Hawthorne played an inconspicuous part in its history, but happened to have written "The Scarlet Letter" there.

A little eastward is a choice bit of colonial architecture, and one of the first brick houses in Salem. It was built by Richard Derby in 1761, for his son Elias Hasket when he married Mary Crowninshield, the sister of George, who lived almost next door.



CROWNINSHIELD'S, LATER PHILLIPS' WHARF AS IT WAS IN 1805

All of these houses had passed into other hands in the nineties, but they had not changed except to sink into a gentle decay. Beyond Derby Warf there was more land on the water side and the little stubby streets ran down to the shore. In the old days, Elvin's Point stuck out here with a grove of trees on it, but it had washed out into flats long before. An old brick store with "Ship's Instruments Repaired" painted on the side still stood on the water side. The houses were crowded close together, but even so, there was dignity of architecture and the horrible three decker had not appeared. Many houses were worth looking at. Number 165 was the store of the famous merchant Joseph Peabody, and Judge Waters had lived in the brick house, which for many years was the Bertram House for Aged Men, and still further down was the old bakery which turned out the weekly pots of fragrant beans, and also Captain Moses Townsend's dignified house.

The lower end of Derby Street was recent. It had only been laid out a hundred years before, so had little history behind it, but the lanes right and left were worth exploring. On Becket Court was a square old house which might have been a 17th century farm house, and in fact it was, though jammed in between more modern and less dignified structures. There had lived for two centuries Becket shipbuilders who launched their ships in their own front yard. The last of the family, fitly enough named Retire, though usually called "Tiry," built the most famous of Salem's ships and privateers. There was still a shipyard there in the nineties, but ambitions did not reach beyond a yacht of forty feet or so.

Down near the water at the foot of Turner Street was a tangled old garden which reached right to the water, in which stood an irregular gabled house originally built by Mayor John Turner of His Majesty's Council for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and later lived in by the Ingersoll family, relations of Hawthorne, so you see why the Turner house became "The House of the Seven Gables."

Yes, Derby Street of the nineties was crammed with history, and you could still feel it in the atmosphere. The

Manila trade and the Zanzibar trade had been in flourishing condition only fifty years before, no longer ago than the period we are looking at, is from the present, and the names of the last of the old merchant firms could still be seen on some of the office doors of the up-town offices. There were doors marked Silsbee, Pickman and Stone; Ropes, Emmerton & Co. and David Pingree. Right down on Essex Street itself the Asiatic Bank bore testimony to the fact that one bank at least had owed its origin to the trade with the far east. The East India Marine Hall still entered by the middle door, where the great anchor now blocks progress, showed the names cut into the stone above the right and left doors (where you can still see them) of the Oriental Insurance Company and the Asiatic Bank. Yes, there were more than a few vestiges of a former glory if you chose to seek them out.

But it was in the people themselves more than in the physical aspects of the town that you got the salty flavor of the sea and the spicy perfume of the East. There were more than just a handful of old captains who had run down the easting on their way to the Cape, and who, if you could stir them up, would tell you tales of desert islands and shipwrecks which would make your hair stand on end. In the language of our people, there has always been a touch of the nautical which the people themselves do not realize, but nevertheless is brought over from the seafaring days. A man with a "wee drappie too much" is said to have a slight list to starboard, and one whose liberality of living has at last forced him to curtail is described as taking a reef in his mainsail. Many an older lady of the nineties was wearing an exquisite cashmere shawl "which father brought home from Calcutta," or using the Canton china "which grandfather had made for mother's wedding" out in the East. Occasionally a lovely tortoise shell comb appeared perched high on the head of some dignified matron which could only have come from the silken East. If you were admitted to the doors of some of the old houses you might be shown wonderful carved ivories, fragrant sandalwood boxes, and rare Japanese laquer trays. You would be just as likely to find them in the home of



THE ESSEX HOUSE IN 1890, FORMERLY THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM GRAY

some gentle little old maid in a quiet side street, as in one of the old merchant's great mansions.

Survivals of the Shipping Days

Yes, the seafaring tradition was still a part of everyday life, and had not yet been entirely gathered into the Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum. Neither of these was as large as it is today, and everybody in Salem knew the pet exhibits and just where they were. How the little girls wished there were still East India Marine Society processions so they might ride in the famous Chinese palanquin decked out as a Chinese bride. Anyway, they could go and look at it. The Hawaiian idol was not a bit less horrible in the nineties than now, and the old Chinese soup tureens which we thought were bath tubs, or bath tubs which we considered soup tureens and after all are really Chinese gold fish basins, puzzled us then. All the exhibits had a sort of personal homey air about them, for lots of people could tell you just whose ship they came back in, and whose grandfather the captain was.

Among the most valuable exhibits in the Marine Hall, as the Peabody Museum was generally called, was old Captain Hammond, who was duly installed as guardian of the Museum. The museum was not heated in those days, but the Captain had to be kept warm, so he was housed with a little oil heater in a big glass case facing the American Bison, and was really one of the best specimens in the museum. If you showed sufficient intelligence you might beguile him out of his heated apartment to describe *Heaven and Hell* to you. This wonderful little carving still exists in the museum, and you can imagine the joy the old captain took in pointing out just where to look to see the devils stoking the wicked into the furnaces in the lowest hell. He seemed to get much more pleasure out of Hell than out of Heaven, which characteristic is not confined to him alone.

Over the Essex Institute presided Dr. Henry Wheatland, to whose painstaking care in gathering up the manuscripts and records of the past, the inestimable value of the

collections of the Institute are largely due. Books and manuscripts seemed a bit dull, however valuable historically, but it was a lot of fun laughing over what our great-grandmothers wore for their weddings, and looking at the sort of baby carriage our grandmothers were wheeled about in.

All over the city there was the memory of a great and distinguished past, and it gave to young and old alike the desire to know more of that past and to cherish its traditions. There were memories of men who had sailed the Arctic Ocean and the tropical seas, who knew the Fiji Islands and the wild Northwest coast of our own America, and who knew how to get there through the baffling winds of the Cape of Good Hope and the smiling Indian Ocean, or through the stormy tempests of Cape Horn. Yes, and in the stern contest of the Revolution and the uncertain war-like days of the early eighteen hundreds, they had learned how to fight their ships as well as sail them. They knew the technique of twelve pounders and long nines, and in the last analysis were not unfamiliar with the bloody hand to hand deck fights with pikes and cutlasses.

II

CHESTNUT STREET

When you entered Salem in 1890, you came into the same old gray granite station you do now, but the train shed stretched out Boston-ward in a dull and dingy tunnel. Castle Hill raised its beetling brows above a Mill Pond still large in size, so that the tracks appeared to enter the grimy tunnel of the station from a causeway, and the water on the South Salem side was not yet confined in the granite canal. A few slimy coves of green water still looped back into South Salem.

It was not worthwhile to try to reach Salem any way except by railroad. The stage coach had given up fifty years before, and the turnpike wound its forgotten way to Lynn, largely frequented week days in springtime by furniture vans of people who wanted to move not further than Lynn or Revere, or the swell equippages of North Shore



THE OLD BANK BUILDING BUILT BY CHARLES BULFINCH, ARCHITECT OF THE
BOSTON STATE HOUSE

residents who were moving down for the summer from Boston or Chestnut Hill, with my lady's Victoria tied behind the two-horse Beverly wagon. Usually the young ladies of the family tucked in a few enormous hat boxes, and the bird in one cage and the family cat in another rode together on the back seat. There were no other passengers, and the elegant livery of the coachman seemed a bit incongruous.

As you emerged from the railroad station, if you chanced to live in South Salem you usually saw the little jangling horse car just disappearing around the corner into Dodge Street, which was a cañon between four story wooden factories, largely devoted to metal work, which led shortly into Lafayette Street. The street cars could not go through Front Street and out Lafayette direct, because the old drawbridge was far too risky.

If you missed your street car, you had plenty of time to contemplate the long bowsprits of the lumber schooners unloading across the street which poked out across Washington Street. If you were going uptown, you could ride in a cab or walk. Unless you were coming from a journey laden with bags, or unusually encumbered with parcels from a day's shopping in Boston, you walked. Anyway, you merely had the choice of Bill Noonan's hack or old "Michael," and perhaps it would be better anyway to let Edward Pollock or Fitzgerald carry up your valise in a job wagon for fifteen cents, while you walked.

You dared your way in front of the hissing locomotive, glanced timidly to see whether another monster would leap at you from the tunnel, and started up Norman Street. From across the street on the corner, John Hurley still waved his three pawn-broker's balls at you. The older residents considered it a bit of a disgrace, but were glad that the fine old white gambrelled roofed mansion which once looked down from the green knoll on the basin, then the harbor, where the freight station stood, could not see them around the corner of the composite brick and wooden structure which contains parts of the oldest houses in Salem.

You wended your way up the south side of Norman

Street—nobody ever walked up the north side—past some fine old houses long occupied by the best families though rather tightly packed together. By the time you approached Dr. Choate's yellow house, you were dodging behind the big elms which occupied most of the sidewalk, for the less mannerly people to push by. Half way up the elms stuck out into the street, which was hardly wide enough for the vehicles anyway, and there you crossed, if you were going northerly on Chestnut Street, almost into the arms of the Chinese laundryman who bobbed in and out of the little shop marked Quong Sang.

Now you reached Henry Hale's neat little grocery shop, which for some reason was judged entitled to look straight up Chestnut Street between the proudest mansions of the city, and to dominate the focal corner of Salem. No uptown lady could go to Boston except through those cross roads, no South Salem youth could visit his Federal Street sweetheart except through that crucial point. In fact, all the events of uptown must pay tribute to that corner, and, as such a corner should be, it was carefully guarded from selected watch towers. Bay windows on Chestnut Street commanded it. Behind the sash curtains on Summer Street there were observant eyes, and there was a guard window in the old Pynchon house, but none of these were the real guardians of the cross roads. The person on whom rested the real responsibility for the corner was a kindly soul who from her window in the back parlor of the Doyle mansion at 33 Summer Street watched everything that passed from eight fifteen in the morning till dark, and with friendly heart and benevolent interest spread the news to the other denizens of the Doyle house, and thus almost instantaneously to all Salem.

The Doyle House

Doyle's was a unique institution. It was the fashionable boarding house of Salem, though even then one could not find anybody who remembered Mrs. Doyle or how the whole thing started. It must have been an old square Georgian house in the beginning, but they had been adding pieces onto it so long that the original shape was quite



HOME OF NATHAN PEIRCE ON CHARTER STREET, BUILT IN 1804
BECAME THE SALEM HOSPITAL IN 1874

lost except in front. The windows of the back parlor no longer overlooked the garden, but looked straight into the reception room, and a little back hall led around behind a bay window that had been converted into a bathroom where the inhabitants bathed weekly on stated nights by appointment only. Doyle's had three front doors and one back door, and was reputed to have had sixteen staircases all told. All third floor dwellers debouched into the second floor by private stairways, and selected groups had their private stairs to the ground floor. Absolute democracy in stairways was not reached until you descended the last stair to the dining room in the basement. All made a common descent down the narrow chute which led thither. The dining room was such as a dining room in Salem ought to be, a close reminder of the cabin of a ship. There were windows on each side, and those nearest Summer Street were only one sash high, while as the ground sloped away it gave room for two-sash windows further down. The stairs came down across the end and entered at the corner. They creaked as persons descended, and you soon were able to differentiate the creak of the substantial merchant from that of the frail little old maid. Miss Alice sat at the head of one of the tables, with her mother on her right. She was the real working-head of the establishment.

There were two waitresses, Mary Moore and Margaret. Mary had been there fifty years or so, and her duties were largely ornamental. Tall and gaunt, she moved about with a stately stride, removing a dish here and there, and making dignified entrances and exits from the kitchen. Margaret did the work, and under pressure discordant notes would sometimes be heard from the kitchen. Conversation would cease and Miss Alice would rise with dignity from her seat and depart through the swing door. The discordant sounds would cease. Margaret somewhat flushed would appear heavily laden through the door, followed by Mary, whose complexion and tempo never changed. Presently Miss Alice would appear and be seated. No one was ever ill-mannered enough to ask a question or make a remark on the incident. The general conversation simply "resumed speed."

It was a tradition that every member of the old families must serve time at Doyle's. A week or two might give you an immunity for life, but you had to serve some time, and be it said, you were sure to find a pleasant group of fellow convicts. When the gay nineties opened there was a genial group assembled there. There were men who had held distinguished positions in the outside world, and had now returned to spend their last years in Salem. Some were old merchants who had never left Salem, but had sent their ships abroad over the whole wide world. Some had wives and children, but there were one or two bachelors of an older vintage about whom hung the mystery of unrequited love affairs.

The dignity of one end of the dining room table was enhanced by the sweet and gentle graciousness of the widow of a distinguished citizen. She was a dear old lady, with a cap, and silky white curls the color of delicate old ivory. Why don't old ladies ever have such curls now-a-days instead of trying feebly to imitate their granddaughters, so the boys and girls today can cherish the memory of them. She was flanked right and left by her daughters, then well up in their fifties, but as chirpy as any little sparrows could ever be, and picturesque in jewelry which was not strictly up-to-date, though lovely with a flavor of the marked respectability of the seventies.

Some, but not all, of the most substantial inhabitants lived in the old front mansion, which might be called the headhouse of the establishment. Four different sets of stairways dropped them down from the second and third floors but some even lived on the first floor, as for instance the doctor. All Salem doctors had to start in the doctor's rooms at Doyle's if they expected to practice in the best families. The doctor had his own front door, and no one ever saw him except when he marched to his meals from his interior exit.

Out in the back of the house the Batchelder's themselves lived on the ground floor, and two stairways led up to the second floor, but from there, staircases shot up to the third floor in many places. One of these terminated in the room of a Spanish gentleman of some Boston importing



JUDGE JOSEPH WATERS HOUSE, 114 DERBY STREET, LATER THE HOME FOR AGED MEN

firm. Why he came to Salem, no one seemed to know. He became a favorite with some of the lady stamp collectors when it was discovered that he could produce pockets of foreign stamps of large and unusual denominations.

Another ascending stairway terminated in the rooms of two ladies known as the two Misses Brown, like many other pairs of maiden ladies in Salem at that time. They were sweet and charming, and lived up their little stairway in an apartment filled with treasures brought home in the old ships. The register of Doyle's in the beginning of the nineties changed a little yearly as some nice old lady dropped away and another came to fill her place, or some young people came to serve out their time for a season.

The Folks on Chestnut Street

Chestnut Street in the nineties ran from Hale's grocery store to Mr. George Peabody's squat little house at the head, and why these two little buildings were entitled to serve as stoppers at either end of the proudest row of homes of the merchant princes in all New England, has never been apparent, but so it was, and it gave a coziness which the recent widening of Norman Street has destroyed. Perhaps it was typical of the old merchant princes, who could be princes without being snobs, and liked to associate with less wealthy brethren.

Mr. Hale, after surveying his rows of cans and packages, and flicking the last atom of dust off his gleaming scales, had time to look out the front door and see what was going on. The girls were going slowly into the studio building on the opposite corner, where one of the private schools was located. They always went in more slowly than they came out. Perhaps the little lady who taught a class of boys carpentry, or one of the artists who had a studio in the building, bustled in.

In the little "gothic" house on the other corner lived a spare elderly gentleman, an erect, dignified personage with gray mutton chop side whiskers, who always wore a square topped black derby hat, and carried a cane. He paused

on the steps a moment after closing his door, and then slowly descended them and walked off down the street.

The other houses on the lower part of the street are not very interesting except the thin brick house which stands end to the street, glaring at the modernized South Church, now removed, but in those days viewing the beautiful McIntire structure with benevolent windows. The local guide may tell you that the famous architect himself lived there, but he did not. It was his nephew.

The two eastern corners of Cambridge Street have always been institutionalized, so to speak, so nobody lived there. In the nineties the grand old South Church looked Hamilton Hall in the ear, you might say, and Hamilton Hall looked over its shoulder at the church. Both of these buildings were fine examples of Federalist architecture. The church was one of the best that McIntire ever built, and there was nothing that equaled it in all New England except the beautiful spire of the Park Street church in Boston, which is also McIntire's work. Christopher Wren himself did nothing better. Hamilton Hall shows what good proportions, well-designed windows, and a little decoration can do to make a perfectly square barn dignified and even distinguished.

It is not quite correct to say that no one lived on either corner of Cambridge Street, for there were the Wentworths, who lived in the Hall. They were not negroes, though dark in color, but descendants of East Indians who came back in some of the old ships. They grew in all sizes from Father Wentworth, the janitor, with thin figure and vague little moustache, down to the smallest pickaninny. I don't think anybody ever tried to count them, and I wonder where they are now. I remember one night coming up from Washington to New York on a crowded night express, the porter said "I'd know you anywhere, Sir!" My look of astonishment cleared when he said, "I'se one of those Wentworths who lived in Hamilton Hall," and then we had a real nice old home party. The Wentworths were clearly part of Salem society.

Along the north side of the street stand three of the most beautiful houses in the city. These were all built



29 CHESTNUT STREET, BUILT BY PICKERING DODGE, LONG THE HOUSE OF
HON. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, SECOND MAYOR OF SALEM

by merchants and sea captains, and had always been maintained in great beauty. They were then occupied by good citizens, largely retired, who gave time, money, and effort to the good of the city. They were interested in all her institutions, and doing year by year effective work for their success, with little hope of appreciation, and none of remuneration. America is sadly in need of such men today. One of them carried a musket as a private soldier through the Civil War, and refused a commission. He was a stocky man with side whiskers, and full of enthusiasm for his pet hobbies. He would buttonhole one of us young people and begin: "Now young lady (or gentleman as the case might be) do you know our Essex Institute is one of the most interesting libraries in the world, and if you are not a member, you ought to be," and then full of enthusiasm, he would go on about some new gift or something.

Beyond the court with the euphonious name was the big, respectable, double, square white house, the eastern and western ends occupied by families who arrived with the first settlers. One of these, an elderly gentleman, had a somewhat closely cropped pointed beard, and wore a heavy brown coat and a black soft hat of rather large dimensions. In winter a black and white checked muffler was added. At precisely two o'clock every afternoon, he came out of his front door and walked around the corner to Dane's stable on Hamilton Street, where his horse was kept. In his heavy Goddard buggy he returned to the house to collect his wife, a motherly lady rather obscured by the personality of her husband, and then went for a ride which lasted just two hours. I don't think this happened on Sundays, for he was a strict member of the Baptist church.

Diagonally across the street is number 17, built nearly one hundred and forty years before by Captain Stephen Phillips, one of Elias Hasket Derby's East India captains, and later an important merchant. It was still occupied by a member of his family. She was proud of the fact that a Phillips had always lived in #17 Chestnut Street since old Captain Stephen built it in 1804, and she kept the record up till a century had passed.

The last great Salem merchant lived in the next house.

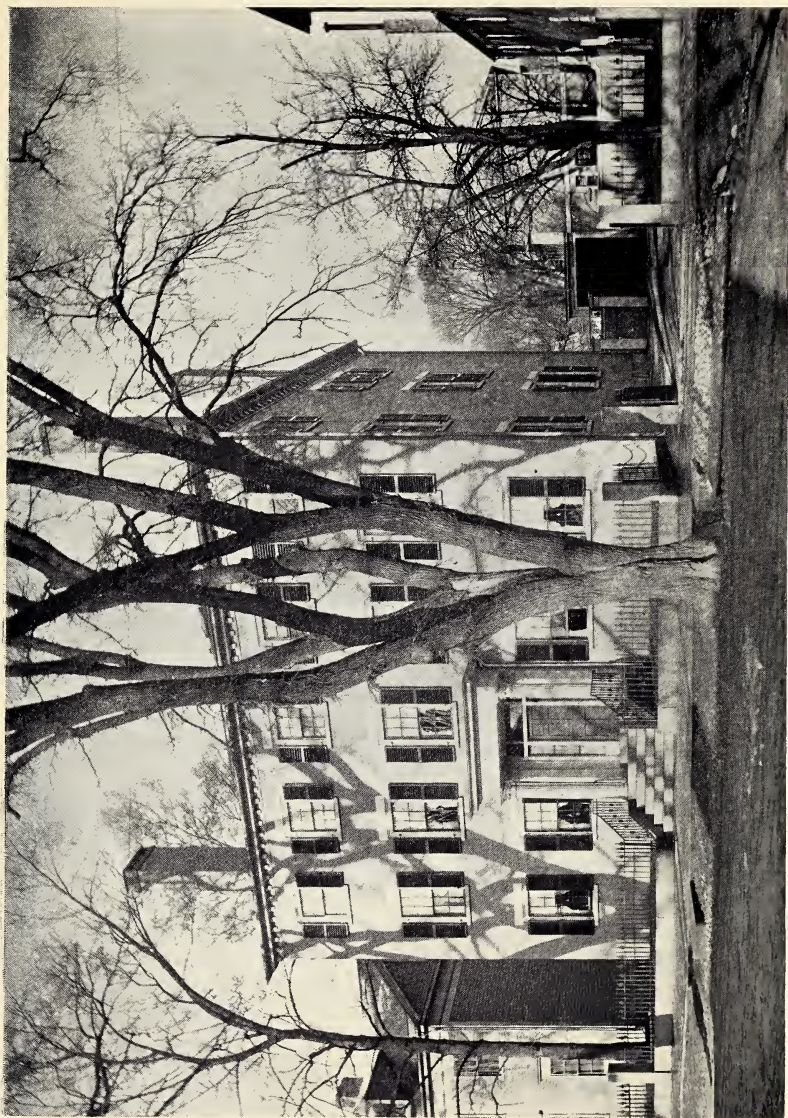
In the nineties his firm was known as well in Sydney, Hong Kong, Capetown and the other great trading centers of the outer world as the great British mercantile houses, and was the only American house that was so known.

Above his house was an interesting block of brick houses, one of which was still occupied by an old East India merchant. In the earlier days his family had all been great merchants, but the last survivor was a very old man with a large stocky frame, quite round-shouldered, who always wore a tall silk hat and frock coat.

In the lovely house planted as exactly at the corner of Pickering Street as any house could be, touching the sidewalk on both streets, lived for seventy years one family. In the nineties there was a very old gentleman there, seldom seen on the street.

The two great brick houses which stand beyond Pickering Street were both famous houses. Number 27 had been built by Dudley L. Pickman in 1818, but Captain John B. Silsbee had lived there a long time. This house early in the '90s came into the hands of Mr. David Little, who later served honorably as Mayor of the city.

Number 29 had been built by Pickering Dodge, a wealthy merchant in 1825, but was longest occupied by Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, an East India merchant, member of Congress, the second mayor of the city, and the first candidate of the Free Soil party for governor of Massachusetts. This is a very beautiful house. The doorway and windows were designed by especially able Salem artisans, and much of the carving was done by Joseph McIntire, brother of the famous builder, though the house itself was designed by David Lord. It contains carved mantels of Carrara marble brought from Italy, and in the cellar there is an enormous white marble bath tub whither you went for ablutions daily or weekly. I wonder how many who pride themselves on their daily morning bath would indulge so often if it meant a cold marble tub in a cold cellar. Strength of mind depends considerably on luxury and convenience. The bathing facilities here were about as convenient as in some English castles. Pickering Dodge was responsible for several other houses on the street, as well as this one, but



12 CHESTNUT STREET
Built by Jonathan Hodges in 1804

this was the one he built for himself, and was his masterpiece.

The brick block house has housed many important families among the old merchants. Dalands, Wests, Boardmans, Devereaux, Osgoods, Tuckers, Lees and Sturgises have all lived in this block not to mention the Huntingtons. The beautiful house numbered 37 was built by Captain George Nichols, and occupied by Peirces and Nicholsons for over sixty years.

The last three houses on the south side of the street were all built by Captain Thomas Sanders, and he and his daughters and grandchildren occupied them for nearly eighty years. His daughters married Tuckermans and Saltonstalls. The family of the governor of Massachusetts (1942) began here.

Somehow the north side of the street was more quiet and more demure in its upper reaches. The sun shone on the front doors instead of the back doors. At the corner of Hamilton Street long lived the widow of the great merchant who first brought Sumatra pepper to Salem. The Peeles made Salem in 1810 the pepper mart of the world. Next above was the house occupied by Captain Hoffman and his wife. Long a successful captain and merchant, he had died before the nineties, but his widow lived on for many years. He had been a great horticulturist, and the lot on Hamilton Street had formerly been covered with greenhouses, and a grapery still existed in the back of the garden. Most people do not notice that this is one of the few old Georgian houses which is not symmetrical.

Number 28, built by Ichabod Tucker, an old merchant, is solidly respectable but not remarkable, except that it was occupied for over sixty years by the well beloved minister of the North Church, and his no less well-loved family.

If anyone said the lovely house at number 34 was made up of two houses, the front portion moved down from Danvers by old Captain Nat West, you would have trouble believing it, but such is the case, and it contains some of the loveliest McIntire mantels on the street. All this was in the twenties of the last century, and it long ago took its place as one of the old mansions. The Wards have occu-

pied it longer than anyone else, and here Miss Ward kept a famous school in the forties and fifties. There have been many other occupants, but mostly for brief periods till lately.

Adjacent Streets—Warren and Broad Streets

There were recognized environs of Chestnut Street in the nineties that were really part of it. Warren Street had the old Tontine block which was burned in the fire, but in the nineties was still occupied by old families who tolerated its almost perpendicular stairways, basement kitchens, and interior bathrooms, if any, just because they had always lived there. It was called the Tontine block because it was built by four owners whose shares, on their deaths, were to go to the survivors, or some such scheme, but they got cold feet on the scheme and broke it up before any died.

Just beyond it was the Treadway house, a lovely old house with a fine garden around it which was also burned in 1914. That was all there was to Warren Street, except the Quaker meeting house, always a quiet spot, but growing quieter as the Quakers faded out of the community.

Around on Broad Street there is a quaint little house which somehow reminds me of a poke bonnet, in which there lived a dear little lady whom many of us knew and loved. Across the way was then, as now, the Pickering estate, where Pickerings have lived since the world began, and where let us hope, they always will. The house built in the early sixteen hundreds but rather overpoweringly "gothicized" a hundred years ago still stands. Here was born Timothy Pickering, one of Washington's trusted officers, a member of his cabinet for eight years, an honest and faithful public servant whom the Jeffersonians selected for their most unfair and most venomous attacks.

Summer Street

Near the corner of Broad and Summer Streets there is a group of funny little houses pushed in together helter-skelter, but they are worth looking at carefully. More of



HOUSE OF JUDGE NATHANIEL ROPES BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, NOW THE ROPES MEMORIAL

them were built before 1700 than since. They are homes of the first settlers, in some cases. Somewhere across Summer Street there used to stand a big square house that was the original home of the Fabens family, who were great South American merchants, and traded to Surinam and Cayenne and other peppery spots. On the side of the hill in that same direction lived in the seventeenth century Bartholomew Gedney, and he had a shipyard there where now there is no water within a quarter of a mile. He was a magistrate of the colony, and a great man in his day, with trading interests down the coast as far as Yarmouth, Maine.

That brings you back to the Doyle House, and you will have to skip over a lot of miscellaneous buildings, across Norman Street, and halfway to Essex Street before you come to the lovely old Pynchon House. Judge Pynchon was a Tory during the Revolution, and a mob smashed his front windows in a fit of exuberance, so the Judge just boarded them up and left them boarded up till the end of the Revolution, as a protest against lawlessness. Hawthorne denied he was the prototype of his character in the House of the Seven Gables but he probably suggested him.

Upper Essex Street

It is not possible to take in all Salem as environs to Chestnut Street, but suffice it to say that one of the last captains who commanded big ships in the China Seas lived in the big brick block at the corner of Essex and North Streets, and then we must turn up Essex Street, past the houses of Judge Osgood and the Cooks, where once lived Nathaniel Bowditch. If you do not know who he was, you are in a state of dense ignorance, but at any rate, he began as ship Chandler's clerk and a cabin boy, navigated first other people's and then his own ships to every corner of the Indian ocean. He understood navigation better than any man of his time, and wrote a book about it that is still, one hundred and fifty-five years later, the standard text on the subject. He studied astronomy and translated and corrected Laplace, finding a frightful

number of errors, did all sorts of sums for insurance companies, and ended as president of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. The house is a little gem, with a wonderful scenic wallpaper on the hall and a little garden out back from which anybody, astronomer or not, would enjoy looking at the stars.

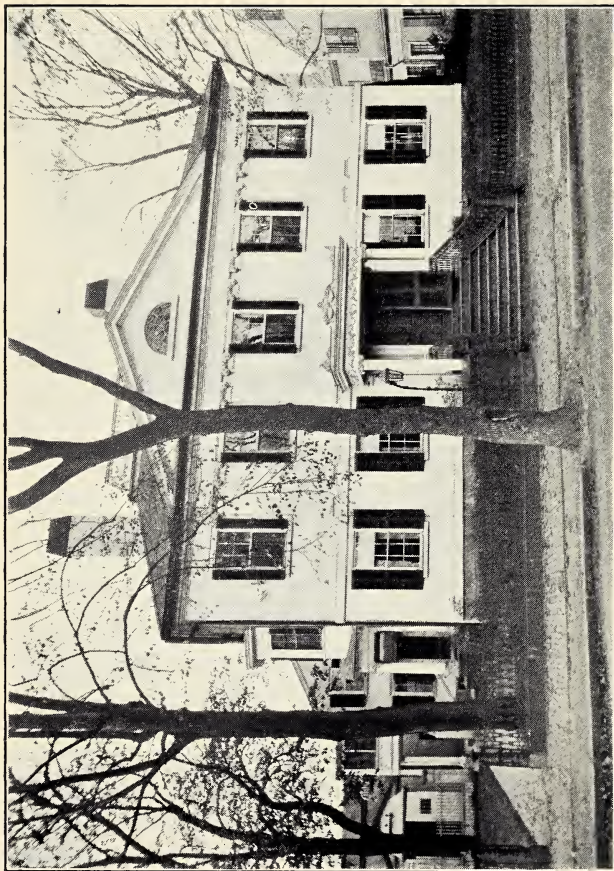
After leaving the Bowditch house, you reach the First Church, which is the lineal successor of that church organized by Governor Endecott, and the first in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It is in very truth the first Puritan Church in the New World. Probably you do not know that the people of Plymouth were not Puritans.

Next to it stands the old Nathaniel Ropes house. Judge Ropes was a Tory before the Revolution, but he was an old man, and for many years he had served his town and country faithfully and well. He deserved better of his townsmen than that they should have smashed his windows as he lay dying of smallpox. The house is now owned by the Ropes Memorial, and is a fine example of a colonial home.

There are lots more old houses, some front to the street in proper fashion, others slid in between end on as you go along the sweeping curves of upper Essex Street, which some people think was laid out by the cows on their daily trek to the great pastures which were in the rocky country to the west, and others say was laid out by the Indians on the way to the fishing grounds long before there were any cows.

Anyway, if you wander slowly along this cow-Indian trail, you will see a lot more big square mansions and eventually come to the home of Rev. Thomas Barnard, who has the reputation of turning back Colonel Leslie at the North Bridge, with but a few drops of blood shed two months before the Battle of Lexington, which perhaps was more of an achievement than fighting a battle. The house was built by Timothy Lindall, a great merchant before 1750.

If we go one block from Dr. Barnard's, we shall meet the spot on Warren Street where we started this tour of the environs of Chestnut Street, so the circuit is complete.



THE ASSEMBLY HOUSE

Built in 1782 on the corner of Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, moved to 138 Federal Street before 1805 and converted into a dwelling

III

A DAY IN CHESTNUT STREET IN THE NINETIES

It is a clear snappy day in late October. The last summer emigrant has returned and all the houses are opened. Most people have decided it is cold enough to start the furnaces. In the cold gray dawn a gaunt figure in an antique black cutaway now greenish and battered derby hat suddenly appears, bobbing into side gates, opening bulkheads and back doors. He trots around from house to house, going and returning several times. Don't be alarmed; it is just Mr. Tufts, the fashionable and popular chore man for those who do not keep regular help. Mr. Tufts does his work quietly, but those now sleeping in the big front chambers soon are awakened by the heavy tramp of hob-nailed shoes like marching infantry. It is the leather workers tramping to Peabody from the tenements down on the point, but it is quarter of seven and marks the rising hour for the business man.

Rush for the Early Train

Nothing much happens on the street for the next three quarters of an hour. Some young man may have rushed through, bound for the 7:35 train, but the real event was the departure of the 7:48. Suddenly a gentleman comes hurriedly down his steps near the head of the street with his coat unbuttoned and muffler flying. A blue cloth bag bulging with books and paper under his arm, he hastens down the street. The block to Pickering Street is covered as rapidly as possible while he tucks in the muffler, buttons his coat, and tries to maintain the pressure on the bag under his arm. He is alarmed by the deserted appearance of the street, and hurries along to Cambridge Street glancing behind as he goes. At Hamilton Hall he catches sight of another gentleman far up the street, and knows there is now plenty of time. He takes out a tobacco pouch and pipe and lights up as he now saunters along.

The other gentleman did not hurry as he came down the steps. He knew his watch was right, he knew just what time it was, just how long it would take to reach the sta-

tion, and that he would have three or four minutes to spare when he arrived. He proceeds at a steady space to the station.

About the time he passes Hamilton Street a young lady comes through that short street and turns down Chestnut Street, trim and neat, dressed in a nicely fitting suit with a little toque and muff, quite a businesslike little figure, but merry and pleasant, and ever and always every inch a lady.

Presently another person comes along, a little doubtful about time, and, a little alarmed to see the punctual gentleman in the dim distance, breaks into a dog trot and looks at his own watch. Reassured he steadies down, swings his green bag and walks as rapidly as possibly.

Finally a younger man comes out of his house and makes fast time down the street. By the time he has covered half the block toward Cambridge Street, another swings out of Hamilton Street, and with long, rapid, clear cut strides measures off the yards down the street. Neither can spare the fifteen seconds needed to join forces, so they wave at each other and wait to converge at Norman Street, where another erect figure can be seen turning the corner from Summer Street.

It is a matter of only a minute or so from the first arrival at the station till the last, as the train steaming and smoking and clanking, rushes out of the tunnel into the station. All are chatting and buying papers. The delegation from down around the Common appear and greet all the others with laughter and jokes. Another minute and the train pulls out leaving the station deserted.

There is nothing quite like the concentrated effort for the 7:48 train, but other trains take their people. A tall gentleman walks in an erect and dignified manner down to the 8:35. A few minutes later his son and daughter hurry after. The son walks with a steady, purposeful step, carrying his heavy bag of Technology books. The sister hurries along by his side with a roll of music and some more music she could not get into the roll, trying to keep a large and pretty hat from blowing, trying to keep a feather boa from blowing into her mouth, and her skirts

from flying up,—an altogether fascinating fluttery feminine figure.

Next the people who stay in town appeared on the street. They come out of the home or from the side streets, and hurry or saunter, as time requires, down the street and along Summer Street on their way downtown. The doctor's high winged buggy comes around from his stable. He gets in and drives off on his morning rounds. Solid merchants and men of leisure come down their steps as the morning wears on, and go their various ways.

Quiet Life on the Street

Round the corner from Flint Street comes a pretty girl with her two black and white spotted English setters and walks down the street swinging her leash. She is a charming independent figure in her dark sport suit, as she whistles her dogs along, and crosses to disappear into Hamilton Street.

Soon a lady emerges from Hamilton Street with her little dog Midget, and turns downtown. She is a rather substantial person, but Midget is a little black dog of no particular breed, but with wonderful action of his front paws as he trots along on his leash. As they approach the middle of the street, all the hair on Midget's back goes up, and with one glance ahead the lady picks up Midget and tucks him under her arm, as a plump pretty young lady approaches towed by a mighty white bulldog.

"Good morning," she says, "Now Smutty, be good! Be good, Smutty. Don't pull so, Smutty! Smutty is really very sweet tempered, he wouldn't hurt Midget."

Smutty leers at Midget's pendant hind leg and tries to calculate how far it is from the ground.

"On the whole I think it is safer to pick him up," remarks the older lady as she backs away, "but isn't it a nice day."

"Lovely," replies the younger one. "Come along, Smutty. Smutty, come!"

Smutty, still looking longingly at the hind leg, emits a low growl as he is dragged away.

"That isn't the way to speak to a lady, Smutty," says

his mistress severely. "Excuse him please. I think Smutty must be a bit out of temper this morning."

They part, and in a moment seeing Smutty at a safe distance, the lady puts Midget down and they proceed on their way.

Another girl comes down her steps with her black Scottie, and walks down the street looking a bit serious. There is no one in sight as she walks along, but others appear and she greets them, all smiles and dimples, and they have a merry chat while the Scottie ruminates in the weedy border opposite the vacant lot below Number 17 before she goes on her way down the street.

A door opens, and out flow a horde of Scotties, and more Scotties, and then three more Scotties. The whole street seems to be full of jolly little wiggling, wagging Scotties. Somebody is going to say there never were more than three, but just the same, the whole street seemed full of Scotties.

Babies on the Street

It may be somewhat humiliating to the present generation which feels its oats so strongly to realize that sixty years ago they were chiefly known as Mary's baby, Jane's baby, Ann's baby, etc., but so it was, and they were trundled back and forth on the sunny side of the street while the older ladies admired them and said that must be Mary's second boy, or that is little Ruth, I think. or doesn't that child look just like his father? only to find that they had picked the wrong baby and it wasn't his father at all. Far be it from the writer to tell just what babies were perambulated just what year. The secrets of these young ladies' ages are entirely safe. Suffice it to say that of a bright and sunny day there were plenty of babies on the north side of the street. The nursemaids had a merry gossip, and the only drawback was that the policeman and postmen were both as old as Methuselah, and very staid old married men besides. So were the gardeners and coachmen and choremen. Everybody seemed to be old, staid and respectably married. Who would



PEIRCE-NICHOLS HOUSE DESIGNED IN 1782 FOR JERATHMIEL PEIRCE BY SAMUEL MCINTIRE
NOW OWNED BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

think of attempting a flirtation with such pillars of society. It simply could not be done. It was ridiculous.

A young matron comes walking down from Warren Street escorted by one of her small boys, and runs into the patron saint of the Essex Institute near the corner of Hamilton Street. Here was his chance.

"Now Nellie, you ought to take your boys to all of Professor Morse's lectures. He is lecturing on insects, butterflies and beetles and such things, and they are very interesting. Morse illustrates them on the blackboard. He can draw with both hands, you know, and draws a butterfly in no time. It would be very instructive for the boys."

"Yes, I suppose I should," Nellie agrees pensively, and then with a merry laugh, "Did you every try getting small boys to do things that were very instructive for them?"

A Girl from the Golden West

It is Monday afternoon, and Jane, Susan, Martha, and Priscilla just happened to meet near the South Church. The group is quieter than usual, and nobody seems to want to start on the subject in hand, though all knew just what it was, but finally it had to come out.

Had anyone heard that a certain lady had a niece from Cleveland visiting her?

Yes, they had all heard it, but no one was willing to admit more just now.

There was going to be a tea for her on Wednesday. Was anyone invited?

Yes, they were all invited, and all were going.

And now facts began to come rapidly. She came Saturday and brought two trunks. She was staying for the Assembly Thursday. She was at home Sunday afternoon, and one of the girls as she casually passed near by, saw three Boston men come down to call from the 4:10 train, and she also saw Tom, Dick, Harry and Bobby go in all dressed up. At the mention of Bobby, all glanced at Priscilla, who shows not a symptom. It is said she will wear a black dress with yellow gloves to the party. Whoever heard of wearing yellow gloves! While gloves were

the proper thing, though a few who tried to be smart had worn black gloves once or twice.

They parted and Priscilla walked thoughtfully up the street. "What more could you expect of Tom, Dick and Harry?" she said to herself, "but Bobby ought to have had more sense than to go tagging after the first western girl who came to town." She realized with a start that she had almost said "her" Bobby. Nonsense! Bobby was *nothing* to her. If he wanted to go chasing after western girls, all right, but he needn't think the Salem girls liked being neglected. Why all this excitement over westerners. Lots of nice girls came from Boston and Worcester and Plymouth and everybody liked them. They were nicer than any old western girls, but there wasn't all this fuss about them. She very distinctly didn't like it, and Bobby must be taught what was proper.

What Horse is That?

Jane was sitting in her wagon in front of a house on Essex Street, when a lady came along bound for the Busy Bees Sewing Circle down by the Common. The lady paused for a moment's chat, but her remarks ruffled Jane a bit.

"Why do you keep on driving that old plug around?" inquired the lady. "Why not get a smart little mare like Susie's."

Jane was fond of old Prince, or Charles, or whatever her horse's name was, and the remark did not set well, and she pondered upon it later as she drove up Chestnut Street. Just as she stopped, Susie drove up with her little mare in her dressy little trap. There was no doubt about it, the little turnout had style. Susie was smartly dressed, held her reins and whip well, and the little mare had good paces.

"Our lady friend doesn't like my horse. She thinks I ought to have a turnout like yours," Jane remarked.

"What did she say?" demanded Susie, and Jane repeated the tenor of the conversation.

"I don't believe she knows a horse from a cow," remarked Susie, and then after a little more conversation both disappeared around into lower Warren Street, where

Susie's little mare was removed and old Prince harnessed to Susie's little trap. With a flick of the whip Susie departed in the direction of the Common, while Jane endeavored to see that all possible members of the Junior sewing circle were on Chestnut Street at about five-thirty.

Susie patrolled Pleasant Street till she sighted the swarm of the Busy Bees and then drove smartly up Brown Street till she sighted her victim, and with a flick of the whip drove old Prince up to the curb in fine style.

"Oh, Mrs. ———, can't I take you up street. I'm going just your way," asked Susie with all the sweetness in the world.

"That is charming!" says the lady, leaving her companions, "I'd be delighted to ride with you in that dear little trap, and I do love your horse."

Up Church Street, up Lynde, through Summer they go, and Susie is affability itself, and the lady has a charming ride. When they turn up Chestnut Street there seem to be a lot of girls on the street, but the lady does not ride with Susie every day so she bows graciously to right and left and old Prince does nobly. He is really a good horse, though a bit old, and responds to Susie's horsemanship. Finally Susie, all smiles, lands the lady at her home.

"Thank you so much for a fine ride, and I do love your delightful little horse. She's a dear," remarked the lady, as Susie turns away just in time to suppress her chuckles.

Back on Chestnut Street Jane and the other girls crowd around as Susie draws up.

"How did it go?" they demanded.

"Go!" said Susie gleefully, "why she swallowed it all, hook, line and sinker, and thanked me for a ride with my delightful little mare!"

The Seasons on the Street

Autumn merged with winter. The golden leaves of the great elms had all fallen, and the delicate tracery of every twig stood out like the tracery of the nave of a great Gothic Cathedral. The last Saturday in November, '98 two young men were walking down the street late in the eve-

ning. The wind was humming in the trees, and the temperature falling rapidly.

"B'rr," said Jim, as he hunched his collar up around his ears, "it feels like snow."

They parted at the corner of Norman Street. Next morning the world awoke to learn that the steamer *Portland* had passed Boston Light late in the evening full of passengers, and disappeared forever. Nothing larger than a cabin door was ever found.

Salem awoke to find one of the great blizzards of the season on, and eight of the largest elms on the south side and one or two on the north had measured their length on the ground. Hardly a house was injured. A gutter was snapped off here and there, a few windows broken, and a blind or two hung by one hinge, but for a week the street looked like a lumber camp in Maine, while the beautiful great trees were sawed up and carted off. The next spring the city replaced the trees with maples! When the irate councilmen from ward three noticed it, they were promptly changed for elms, and one good citizen at his own expense replaced the tree in front of his house with a tree nine inches through the stump.

In another year a few days after New Years, the fire alarm box on the corner of Norman Street rang, and of course everybody went. A fire on the street was a social event, and even the far off Commoners would respond to a second alarm from that box. The joy of a pleasant evening out of doors with all your friends changed to sadness when it was found that the South Church was afire. The fire was in the back, and all hoped it would be kept there, but it shot up through the great roof timbers, and finally the beautiful spire fell with a crash across Chestnut Street into Cambridge, avoiding carefully its old friend Hamilton Hall. The most glorious building on the street was no more, and was replaced by a little English Country Church as inappropriate as anything could be to its setting. The one eyed eagle on Hamilton Hall glared at it with malignant venom. It has now been removed.

All winter long the children play in the snow on the sides of the street, or chase Dave Whelton's market sleds or



380 ESSEX STREET, BUILT IN 1797 FOR JOSEPH SPRAGUE, LONG THE HOME OF
COL. FRANCIS PEABODY AND JOHN H. SILSBEE

John Cohane's "booby hut" for a ride, and the little girls and boys of today needn't think their cheeks are any rosier or their golden curls any curlier or their little eyes any brighter than those of their grandmothers of sixty years ago. In fact, just to put them in their places, let it be said that I think their grandmothers were a lot prettier.

As spring comes on, one of the little old ladies walks up the north side of the street on the way to her most intimate friend's, and stops to admire snowdrops and hyacinths.

"Emily's flowers are nice," she says to herself, "but nobody can have as nice ones as Hattie." So she turns into her friend's to tell her so.

With May come weddings, and the street is aflutter with pretty girls and good looking men. One of the girls was to be married from her mother's nice new house, and there is an awning out over the street so that if it should rain, no one would get wet. The house was beautifully decorated, and the food was splendid, and everybody you knew was there. Finally they galloped away in a beautifully decorated hack all tied up with white ribbons and a shoe on the back, and of course changed into another carriage somewhere up in Warren Street and drove to a train in Swampscott or somewhere.

June was always a delightful month on the street, because people sat on their front steps and one walked up and down visiting here and there with friends, or perhaps walked through the lovely old houses to see the flowers in the garden behind. You stayed a few minutes here and a few minutes there, and then the people you had just visited wandered by your steps and paused a moment to add a few words. It was quiet and homey and peaceful, and you did not feel the urge to rush off somewhere; you really would not want to go off in an automobile had you heard of such an obnoxious contraption.

And then summer came and some houses were closed and some stayed open, but the people were often away, and those that remained still visited along the street, but it was hot and dusty and not like June, and so the year wore around.

Conclusion

And so the lovely old street goes on. New elms grow up to take the place of the old ones. New faces appear in place of the old ones. The grandchildren of old Salem-ites come back to live in ancestral homes. People who never knew Salem settle in and become more Salemish than the Salemites. Belles of New York buy old mansions, and presently you cannot tell them from any other Salem spinster. Salem characters die off and while you are lamenting that the race is extinct, you suddenly realize that you are a Salem character yourself.

Sewing circles revolve within sewing circles, and while the names and faces change, the sewing circles are just the same. Cheerful Workers entertain Busy Bees, and Bees invent shows for Thread and Needles. The shows change but the last one is always the best. That is a tradition, and also there is a weird Vestal Virgin tradition that no men should ever be allowed to see those shows. This is really just to keep alive an entirely groundless superstition that they are competitors of Palm Beach at ebb tide.

(To be continued)

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL HATHORNE
FATHER OF THE FAMOUS SALEM NOVELIST

By HUBERT H. HOELTJE

Hawthorne, it is said, had a passion for the sea. As a small boy, whenever the ambiguities of the world seemed overwhelming, he would give vent to his feelings with the exclamation, "There, mother! I is going away to sea, and I'll never come back again!" As a mature man, when the applause of two continents had welcomed *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables*, he found the Berkshires of western Massachusetts irksome notwithstanding the society of Herman Melville and in spite of the beautiful view of the mountains from his red cottage. He wanted, as he wrote to his old college friend, Horatio Bridge, to be near the sea once more. In 1860, on his return after seven years in Europe, with a successful record as United States consul to Liverpool, as wealthy as he should ever be, and as the most distinguished of all American novelists, the sea still held its fascination. On board ship, he was tireless in gazing over the water, possessed by the conviction that he should like to sail on and on for ever, never to touch shore again.¹

The passion was deep because it was inborn. "From father to son," he wrote of his own ancestry, "for above a hundred years, they followed the sea; a grey-headed ship-master, in each generation, retiring from the quarterdeck to the homestead, while a boy of fourteen took the hereditary place before the mast, confronting the salt spray and the gale, which had blustered against the sire. The boy, also, in due time, passed from the forecastle to the cabin, spent a tempestuous manhood, and returned from his world-wanderings, to grow old and die, and mingle his dust with the natal earth"² Actually, however, in his own immediate family, there was no such long sequence of sea-faring ancestors as this statement would indicate. Hawthorne's own

1 George Parsons Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), 64 and 80; Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1893) 128.

2 *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Old Manse Edition, Boston, 1900), VI, 12-13.

grandfather, true enough, was a life-long seaman, as was the author's father. Two generations of sea captains were, nevertheless, under the circumstances, quite sufficient to make the sea a part of his unforgettable heritage.

Of the grandfather, "bold Hathorne," a privateersman in the Revolutionary War, about whom a ballad was written by a contemporary rhymster, somewhat has been said by the author's biographers.³ Suffice it here to add only that his grandson was not quite right when he said that he performed no memorable deed, or so much as put forward a claim to public notice. The ballad would seem to indicate otherwise, as would the tribute offered by a Salem newspaper when he died. "'An honest man's the noblest work of God,'" quoted the Gazette from Pope, "and no one will doubt the deceased's title to his character." "The funeral," the newspaper went on to say, "was attended on Wednesday last with that respect which real worth insures. The corpse was preceded by the Marine Society, and the Fire Club, of which he was a member. The flags of the ships in port were half mast high—and the numerous procession which attended on this melancholy occasion, fully evinced the regret they felt at the departure of their worthy townsman."⁴

But it is rather of the author's father, Captain Nathaniel Hathorne, that somewhat remains to be said,⁵ especially since the peculiar circumstances of his early death apparently so greatly affected the life of his illustrious son. The family records were seemingly few. He is reported to have been "a silent, reserved, severe man, of an athletic build, and habitually of a rather melancholy cast of thought . . ." Elsewhere it is reported that he was fond of reading and meditation. These, however, were only miscellaneous family traditions; the tangible remembrances, long kept, were a China tea service, an India box and an India punch-bowl and pitcher that were souvenirs

3 Lathrop, 53-56.

4 April 19 and 26, 1796.

5 The initial efforts to sketch the captain's life are by Robert Cantwell, *Nathaniel Hawthorne, the American Years* (New York, 1948) and by Vernon Loggins, *The Hawthornes* (New York, 1951).

of his expeditions to the Far East in the earlier years of his career. Beyond this handful of details, the published family records seem to have little to say of the father of the distinguished novelist.⁶

A local historian records that Nathaniel Hathorne, son of the Revolutionary War seaman, was born on May 19, 1775,⁷ though he does not record the source of his information. The manuscript Records of the First Church of Salem indicate the baptism, on May 21, 1776, of "Nathaniel son of Capt. Daniel Hawthorne," and thus unwittingly establish a spelling of the family name adopted by the author after his graduation from Bowdoin College in 1825. Though the Church Records are no final criterion of correct spelling, they are a reminder that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a standardized spelling no more prevailed, in ordinary usage, among proper nouns than among common ones. The numerous Hawthornes, for instance (if one can find a single plural for a word so variously spelled), had their name spelled in at least seven different ways: Hathorne (1637), Hathorn (1639), Hawthorne (1667), Hawthorn (1668), Harthorn (1670), Hawthorn (1701) and Hawthorne (1776). The subject of our sketch, however, himself spelled his name "Hathorne," as the records of his maturity attest.

The mariner-to-be was born in the house now bearing the number of 27 Union Street, Salem, Massachusetts, where his own famous son was to be born also. The house was already almost a hundred years old in 1775, if, indeed, it was not older. It came into the hands of the father, Capt. Daniel Hathorne, in 1772, from his father-in-law, Jonathan Phelps, a blacksmith.⁸ Whatever its environs were when the house was originally built in the seventeenth century, during the period of the Revolutionary War it stood very near the heart of a small but busy maritime town. It was a period when even the wealthiest merchants wished to live near their business establishments or count-

6 Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 36. See the portrait on the opposite page.

7 Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1928), III, 285.

8 Perley, III, 193.

ing houses, so that fashion and convenience met. Two blocks westward from the Hathorne residence, between Main Street (Essex) and the present Charter Street, lived a number of other sea captains, and Main Street, in this area, was apparently the fashionable street of the town. Eastward, toward where the new Derby wharf was being built, lived several members of the Derby family, most successful and wealthiest of all Salem merchants. But in spite of the nearness of the elite, hardly a block westward from where the Hathornes lived (where Hawthorne Boulevard now is) was a small shipyard. To the south, too, a stone's-throw away, was a distillery. Beyond that, not a block away, was Union Wharf, the most important in the town, patronized in those days by the ships of the Derbys and Crowninshields, merchant princes of Salem. Indeed, the area adjacent to Union Wharf, especially westward, along the then wide and deep South River, was the real waterfront. The life of maritime Salem centered there.⁹

In such an environment, literally on the waterfront, among ships and sailors and tales of the sea, young Nathaniel Hathorne spent his boyhood. Thoughts of the sea, and of the approaching day of his own first adventure into its charms and mysteries, must have occupied many of his waking hours, if not his dreams. Not only did he see his father embark from the wharf only a minute's walk from their home, but presently he had to restrain his boyish impatience in remaining with his mother and sisters while he watched his brother, Daniel, seven years his senior, also put out to sea. By and by, too, his sister, Rachael, married Simon Forrester, and sister Sarah married John Crowninshield,¹⁰ both sea captains of families of great maritime importance, and thus he found himself even more irrevocably drawn to the life of a sailor. It was in part through the connections established by the marriage of his sisters into these most prominent ship-owning families of Salem, that the youthful Hathorne was apparently early enabled to sail to the far corners of the world.

⁹ James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937), 119, 170, 244, 274-5, and elsewhere. See map at rear.

¹⁰ Perley, I, 285.

Just when he first took his place before the mast is not a matter of ascertained record; but if his son's later remark is not merely a literary flourish, he was about fourteen. Just where he first went, or with whom he sailed, may have been a matter of too slight moment, in a milieu in which almost every boy was a potential sailor, to have been recorded or remembered. At any rate, at a date when he seemingly made his first record of a journey, he was already past nineteen and already a veteran familiar with the ways of ships and seas.

Strangely, the earliest extant account of young Hathorne's adventures finds him in far away India.¹¹ On the first page of a canvas-bound log book, still preserved in the library of the Essex Institute, Salem, appears this inscription—

"Nathaniel Hathorne's Book
Presented by his Esteemed Friend
Mr. Robert Robbinet October 25th 1795
Calcutta"

Who Robert Robbinet was, whether a fellow-citizen or a resident of Calcutta, Hathorne does not say. The second page indicates that the log is "A Journal of our Passage from Calcutta towards America." The ship was the *America*, a big vessel of 654 tons, owned by Elias Hasket Derby, and commanded by Jacob Crowninshield. The ship had recently been purchased at the Isle of France (Mauritius) for Derby¹² by Crowninshield, and this circumstance, together with the fact that Hathorne had acquired his book in Calcutta, explains why there is no log for the outward journey from America, in whatever ship the outward journey was made.

Though India was still a novelty for American sailors, as it must have been for young Hathorne (American vessels first entered in 1788),¹³ his log, unlike some others, records none of his experiences while he was on land. A letter from Capt. Crowninshield to his brother, however,

11 I am not sure in what capacity.

12 James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Cambridge, 1947), 185.

13 Charles S. Osgood, "The Commercial History" in *History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1888), 71.

makes plain that the *America* had difficulty in being cleared by the customs officials at Calcutta, who charged the Crowninshields (Jacob was accompanied by his brother Ben) with having on board forbidden saltpetre and rice, and there was apparently a threat to unload the *America*. After being detained the better part of a week, the ship was, however, permitted to sail. Capt. Crowninshield was indignant, though his indignation was balanced by his elation over the purchase of a young female elephant for 45 pounds, for which he was reputed to have received \$10,000 when the animal was sold in America, the first elephant in this country.¹⁴

Of the three Hathorne logs extant, this earliest one has the greatest detail. For the most part it is concerned with weather conditions, the distances sailed each day, the position of the ship, the bird and fish life encountered, the ships sighted or spoken, the land seen, and the like. Occasionally such matters are enlivened by a detail of immediate human interest, as when, on January 17, "it Being Sunday to Day Gave the People Some Fresh Pork for Diner. . . . Light breezes and pleasant weather." Sometimes the subdued statement may imply more excitement than is said, as when, on January 24, "a Rough Sea Running the Ship makeing more water than usual . . . it is Necessary to pump her every glass . . . 82 miles." In the midst of workaday statements, on pages garnished with unstandardized spelling, now and then appear phrases which, however common, possess a picturesque quality: "fresh breezes and flying clouds," "sharp lighting and distant thunder," "squally with rain," "a disagreeable sea running," "a bad chance of wind." Sometimes—rarely—appear ingots of poetry, as when, on March 10, as the ship came up from the under parts of the world, "this Night we saw the North Star which I think is a great Pleasure to a homeward Bound Mariner after a Long Voige to India."

Young Hathorne had an apparently lively interest in

14 MS. letter in the Essex Institute from Jacob Crowninshield, Calcutta, November 24, 1795; Salem Gazette, May 3, 1796.

the life in and on the ocean waters and records frequently the manifestations of such life. The dolphins, the porpoises, the alewives, and the flying fish which played around the ship received his attention, as did the great quantities of seaweed now and then encountered. The albatrosses that flew overhead, the flocks of gannets, the man-of-war birds, the boobies, the egg birds, and others had their appearances faithfully recorded. And since each is reported in relation to the position of the ship in its long journey over the ocean, the shifting scene becomes animated with life.

It was, indeed, a long voyage home—a matter of more than four months. Though Capt. Crowninshield wrote on the twenty-fourth of November¹⁵ that he had been cleared, the Hathorne log does not start until December 3, a day beginning with “Moderate Breezes and Fine Weather.” At half-past eight in the evening the pilot was discharged and the *America* was on its way home. For the next three weeks, neither land nor ship was sighted. Christmas day was spent in moving “all the Ships Provisions from the Stearige Forward to Fetch the Ship more by the head.” A month out, late in the afternoon, the island of Rodriguez was seen, and the next morning it bore north some six or seven leagues. On January 11, the voyagers were at Port Louis, Isle of France, when the captain wrote to inform his brother of the all-important fact that the elephant “appears to do well.”¹⁶ Three days later, again in late afternoon, the ship passed the Isle of Bourbon (Réunion) fourteen or fifteen leagues distant, as moderate breezes blew and skies grew more and more cloudy. On January 20, in squally weather accompanied by sharp lightning and thunder and rain, the first sail was sighted. Presently two more sails were seen, and after two days, on January 27, at six in the afternoon, the ship *Fame*, Capt. Coleman, was spoken. The other ship, it appeared, was from Philadelphia, Capt. Osborn, sixty-three days out of China. At five the next morning, the *Fame* was still in sight to the eastward. At the same time, from off the topsail yard of the

¹⁵ Obviously, the *America* had been in Calcutta for more than a month.

¹⁶ MS. letter in Essex Institute.

America, the Philadelphia ship could be dimly discerned to the westward, sailing very fast before the wind. This meeting with the *Fame*, with the captain's news of the China ship, was undoubtedly a red-letter day for the crew of the *America*. It was the only vessel spoken since the departure from Calcutta, almost two months before. Was it young Hathorne himself who climbed to the heights of the mainmast to watch the disappearing Philadelphian, and, sailor-like, to envy her greater speed? It was a memorable moment, a classic incident of life on the sea, however meager its recording.

On February 1 the southern coast of Africa came into view, then Cape Agulhas, and on February 4, Cape of Good Hope. On the sixteenth, early in the morning, the Island St. Helena hove into view. At half-past ten, "the Captain and four hands as is Customary went ashore to the Fort." At St. Helena two days were spent ashore. On the seventeenth—

"Employed at Clearing up Decks. Got a Derrick up to Hoist in water. took on board 24 . . . Casks of Water Middle Part Employed and Landing 23 Sacks of Coffee and One Bag of Rice. took onboard Several Pumpkins and Cabbages. Some Fresh Fish for Ship's use, and Greens for the Elaphant . . . Ends Moderate Breezes and Pleasant weather Employed at Getting everything Ready for Sea."

At sea once more, with water and "greens" for the elephant, the men discovered that they had a stowaway on board. Who he was, what his history had been, or what happened to him, is not told. He was taken to sea, but dropped from the narrative—perhaps some vagabond whose only earthly immortality was this nameless mention in a young sailor's log.

Early on the morning of February 23, the Island of Ascension came into view, and the next mid-afternoon the *America* anchored in seven fathoms of water a half-mile from shore. Before doing so, however, it had come within gunshot of the ship *Fame* from the Isle of France, which had been spoken at sea almost a month before.

The activities at Ascension perhaps engaged Hathorne's

interest more than any other incident on the passage from Calcutta. At half-past four in the afternoon, the captain and ten hands (together with the keeper of the log) went ashore to catch turtles, with which the island abounded. It abounded, also, with birds—man-of-war birds, boobies, and gannets, numbers of which the men caught, as well as “6 Fine Large Turtle.” The men also saw on the beach a very large sea lion, “but on our Coming Near him made the Best of his way into the water.” Apparently a night was made of the adventure, for some of the men seem not to have returned to the ship until four in the morning. In the meanwhile, the men left on board ship had amused themselves by catching sharks. Though young Hathorne had left no hint of his stay in Bengal, where the wonderful elephant had been purchased, he found time and space to describe the volcanic origin of Ascension, to point out its scarcity of water and the absence of all vegetables except “pussly,” and to remark on the great number of rats. The men were scarcely embarked the next day when they “Killed one Turtle and took 2 Buckets of Eggs out of it.” The catching of these huge turtles was exciting; besides, they provided fresh meat.

And fresh meat was prized, for the longest uninterrupted stretch of sea still lay before them—almost a month and a half of sailing before land would be sighted again.

This last long lap of their passage was marked, in its initial positions, only by the seeing of the North Star for the first time as the ship passed the equator, the sighting of two sails in the distance and the speaking of “the Schooner *Johanna*, Capt. Nicholsen Broughton, out 12 days from Guadaloupe, bound to Marblehead in the Long of 67.00 East.” Then, on “Tueasday,” March 29, occurred an incident which, in historical retrospect, seems the most momentous recorded in the log, though Hathorne makes his entry in a matter-of-fact manner. Perhaps the young sailor, now aged almost twenty-one, had already had enough experience to accept the fact that in those days Britannia ruled the waves. He was to live, however, to hear increasing cries of protest.

“At 5 PM Saw Four Sails Stearing to the Eastward.

At ½ Past 5 PM the Strange Sails hove about and Stood toward us. At 6 PM the headmost of the Ships Brought us too and sent her Board onboard of us. She Proved to be the *Lynx* English Frigate of 26 Guns. They informed us that the Ships in Company with them was the *Comidore* of 76 Guns Called the *Resolution*, the *Cleopatra* of 32 Guns and the Brigⁿ *Bermuda* of 16 Guns. Cruising in the Bermuda Station. at 7 our Captain went onboard the *Lynx* by this time the other Ships was up a long side of us and our Captain went onboard the *Commadore*. After haveing examined the Ships Papers they let him onboard his own ship, and the *Lynx*^s Boat Came onboard us and Examined all our People and let us go along aboard our Business . . . Distance 58 miles. 27..38North."

On April 10 a similar scene was enacted when the *America* encountered another English frigate and was boarded by two officers and ten hands, the situation again being accepted as a matter of course. At seven that evening, Long Island was sighted. The ship was brought to windward, and young Hathorne abruptly brought his log to a close.

When the young mariner returned home to Salem is uncertain, though probably it was not before the end of the month.¹⁷ In the meanwhile, perhaps while the *America* was docking and unloading in New York, his father had died and been buried with such honors as the seaport town could give, and as has already been recorded. But such hazards were a part of the life of the sailor, and of his family.

The widow of Capt. Daniel Hathorne having been appointed administratrix of his modest estate,¹⁸ the son was free to resume his sea-faring life, which now took him on his farthermost journey. Early in December, 1796, he embarked on the *Perseverance* for Batavia, Manila, and Canton.

The ship *Perseverance*, built in 1794, was relatively

17 *The Salem Gazette*, May 3, 1796, copied an article from the New York *Minerva* of April 18, relating to the famous elephant, etc. Not until May 10 did the *Gazette* mention Crowninshield's return to Salem.

18 *Salem Gazette*, May 17, 1796.

new. Its owner was Simon Forrester, young Hathorne's brother-in-law, one of the most successful and wealthy of Salem's many outstanding merchants. The captain was Richard Wheatland, an able officer, presently to be renowned for an encounter with a French privateer. As compared with the 654 tons of the *America*, the *Perseverance*, with its 245 tons, was relatively small. By modern standards, of course, even the Titans of the time were astonishingly diminutive. The *Grand Turk*, 564 tons, 124 feet long, built in Salem in 1791, is said to have been the largest ship until then built in America. (The *America* was foreign-built.) The average dimensions of six famous East-Indiamen of Salem, built between 1794 and 1805, were 99 feet, length, 28 feet, width, with 336 tonnage. Like other vessels of the day, the *Perseverance* was armed. She carried ten guns and found occasion to use them.¹⁹

In what capacity Hathorne served on the *Perseverance*²⁰ is not a point which he himself records in his log of the journey. That he was neither first or second mate is clear from what he does say. For instance, on May 16, 1797, he wrote that "at 2 AM the Chief officer and myself with 5 men" went in a boat to survey some white rocks that lay in their course between Batavia and Manila. On February 28, 1798, after the *Perseverance* had come to in the Bay of Ascension, "the Chief and Second Officers, myself and 6 hands went onshore to turn Turtle." Apparently he was not merely a hand.

The course of the *Perseverance* on its long journey is of interest because it was probably typical of the course of the East-Indiamen of the day. Though the *Perseverance* attained no "first" in its travels, it was an early arrival in the far ports newly opened to American trade, travelling fast upon the sterns of such vessels, for instance, as were first to

¹⁹ *Ship Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly, Massachusetts, 1789-1900* (Essex Institute, Salem, 1906), 143-4; Robert E. Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem* (Boston, 1912), 154-5; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), 96; James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 137.

²⁰ Cantwell, page 17, says that he was captain in command of the *Perseverance*, an obvious error; Loggins, page 197, says that he was chief mate.

arrive at Manila. The bloom of novelty was still upon the Far East when the *Perseverance* carried Nathaniel Hathorne to Java, the Philippines and China.

It would be difficult to imagine a more lonely journey than that of the *Perseverance*. Though other ships were seen, apparently none was spoken, nor, though land was sighted, was any touched during the period of more than four and a half months when the ship sailed southward from Salem, far outward from the coast of South America, past the Island of Trinidad off Brazil, past the solitary Island of Tristan da Acunha, and, in the dark of the night in a heavy sea, past the Cape of Good Hope, into the southern reaches of the Indian Ocean past the remote islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, and thence northward until at last, 137 days out, the "Isle of Javia" hove into view, and the guns were fired off at 6 A.M., to mark the occasion.

From Batavia the course lay along the east coast of Sumatra, past the Anamba Islands in the South China Sea, thence to Manila, and thence to Canton. On the homeward journey, after Java had been left behind, the course was much like that of the *America*—past Réunion, the Cape of Good Hope, Ascension, and then New York.

All told, the *Perseverance* was gone from home the better part of one year and five months, with a variety of incidents, great and little, to mark the journey. Hathorne's log^{20a} began on December 13, 1796. Almost from the beginning the ship labored in storms, the sun setting clear on January 5 for the first time since Salem had been left behind. On New Year's day the young mariner recorded that the crew had "Broach'd a Barrel of Cyder." On January 24, a very large fish coming alongside, the harpoon was hove into it. Unfortunately, the ship's carpenter being in the core of the line, the fish hauled him over the stern so that it became necessary to let the fish go, harpoon, line, and all, to get the carpenter on board again, apparently little the worse for his misadventure. Tucked in among the observations of bird and fish life which continued to occupy a large part of this log, Hathorne records on February 22: "This is the Anniversary of the Illustrious

20a At the Essex Institute.

Washington's Birth Day. may every succeeding years heap New honors upon him."

The crew of the *Perseverance* was not unaware of the dangers of trade in the South Seas. Although Java was approached at nightfall, it was not thought prudent to run in the night. When a boat came from the shore before the officers had decided to land, a blunderbuss was fired at her, to warn her not to come alongside. On the day Batavia was left, the ship *Eliza* of Providence was spoken. The *Eliza* had lost its captain and two men in an engagement with a Malay prow. Thereafter the two ships, Manila-bound, sailed for some time together for protection against the native pirates. When the two ships met the *Grand Turk* from Canton bound for Boston, the three captains gathered on board the *Eliza* "to Learn the News," and so provided the *Perseverance* with one of its most eventful days.

The threat of death, not only from treacherous Malays, was of course always present on so long a journey. On December 10, 1797, almost a year after the departure from home, "at 1½ Past Mid Night, departed this life Thomas Ellage, Seaman, after a Lingular Sickness of three months with Dissentary. At 6 A.M. committed the Body of the departed Ellage to the deep, after the usual ceremonies 00..10 South." On January 13 there were similar ceremonies for the deceased Prince Saunders, near the Island Réunion. After the seaman's custom, the clothing and other articles of the deceased were sold at public auction on shipboard. Then life went on with no further mention of their dead companions.

On the back of the last page of the log of the journey from Batavia to Manila, but otherwise undated, appears some matter that indicates that young Hathorne occasionally tried his hand at verse-writing, the rhymed couplets of course being characteristic of the time:

Place me where never Summer breeze
Unbinds the Glebe or warms the Trees
Where ever Lowering clouds appear
And angry Jove deforms the inclemment year

Apparently in another hand, these lines are signed "Ro-

manticist." They are repeated upon the same page in a smaller hand, this time with the correct spelling of "in-clement."

On a loose page following the Batavia-Manila log, and therefore perhaps though not certainly of that date, are lines of a more personal nature, lines that more than anything else said in Hathorne's various logs suggest private thoughts:

In Storms when clouds obscure the Sky
And thunders rool and lightning fly
In the Midst of all these dire allarms
Ill think dear Betsy on thy charms

These lines are followed by the word "Beautiful," seemingly, once more, in another hand. In another hand too, this stanza is repeated—with certain alterations: "role," "lightnings," "alarms," "of thy charms"—as if emended by a somewhat better speller and writer.

That the young mariner was in love, this verse and the sequel will reveal. Who the emender and commentator was seems uncertain. Perhaps it was Betsy herself; or, perhaps, years later one of her daughters, or even her world-famous son, added the remarks and the corrections. At any rate, the writer-to-be had his father's log in his possession in 1820, as his name and various boyish scribblings plainly indicate. The fact of this possession and perusal is of importance, certainly, in any attempt to evaluate the influence of father upon son.

But to return to the voyage of the *Perseverance* and mariner Hathorne's experiences in the South Seas. Once more, as in the case of his log of the *America*, Hathorne says not a word of what he or anybody else did while in port. The dates in the log seemingly indicate that the *Perseverance* was about eight days in Batavia; eighteen days in Manila; and three and a half months in Canton. Whatever the young seaman thought of the sights and manners of these strange places and people, he left those thoughts unrecorded and thus perhaps missed an opportunity for the degree of fame that came to his more vocal con-

temporaries.²¹ Nor did he so much as hint at the trading done by the captain of the *Perseverance*. It is from other sources than Hathorne's log that one learns that Captain Wheatland returned with a cargo of tea and sugar to Simon Forrester, the duties of the cargo being \$24,562.10.²² That Hathorne was not ignorant of the commercial venture, however, is revealed by the fact that according to the Custom House Records for 1798, he was a surety for a number of Forrester's bonds for duties, in various amounts ranging from \$85.00 to \$384.00. These bonds, too, if they were not a mere formality, seem to indicate that, whatever Hathorne's rank on the *Perseverance*, he was not at this period quite poverty-stricken. The *Perseverance* returned to Salem on April 28, 1798, after first having docked at New York.²³ How or where seaman Hathorne was employed during the next three years has as yet not been discovered. The crew list of the *Perseverance* for May, 1798, when Captain Wheatland took the ship to Russia on a memorable voyage, does not contain the name of Nathaniel Hathorne. It may have been that Hathorne's position was such that his name was not included in the scattered crew lists still preserved in the Custom House Records. It may be that he sailed from Boston or New York; or perhaps he was employed in some clerical position in Salem, possibly with Simon Forrester or the Crowninshields. So obscure a young man as he then was would leave a record of his activities only by chance.

Whatever his occupation during these years, he seems to have felt sufficiently confident of his future to marry, for on August 2, 1801, Dr. William Bentley, pastor of the East or Second Church of Salem, recorded the marriage of "Nathaniel Harthorne to Elizabeth C. Manning." Elizabeth was, of course, the Betsey whose charms the young

21 Robert Elton Berry, *Yankee Stargazer, Life of Nathaniel Bowditch* (New York, 1941), 71 ff.; Peabody, 87 ff.; Morison, 64-65.

22 Osgood, 68. The *Preseverance* was wrecked on Cape Cod in 1805. There is a water-color in the Peabody Museum, Salem.

23. Records, Old Salem Custom House. All my other references to Custom House sources are from the Records in the Essex Institute, all of which, during Hathorne's period, were examined, though, in such a miscellany, one cannot be sure of having seen every possible reference.

man had been thinking on while the *Perseverance* was cautiously finding its way among the coral reefs and Malay pirates of the South China Sea. The local newspapers, after the journalistic practices of the day, noted the event briefly in a section devoted to marriages: "In this town, Mr. Nathaniel Hathorne to Miss Eliza C. Manning, second daughter of Mr. Richard Manning, jun."²⁴

The Mannings, by the way, lived on the next street to that on which the Hathornes lived, the rear yards practically abutting on one another. The father was originally a blacksmith who established the Salem and Boston Stage Company,²⁵ acquired extensive lands in Maine, and died possessing a considerable estate. The Mannings were associated with the East Church, which in those days stood at the junction of Hardy with Main Street (Essex), somewhat to the east of where the Mannings lived. The Hathornes, on the other hand, had been allied with the First Church, the older and more conservative one, ever since the original Major William Hathorne "joined in full communion" on December 4, 1637. It was not until almost five years after her marriage that Elizabeth joined her husband's church. Elizabeth was twenty when she was married; her husband was twenty-five.

Whatever young Hathorne was doing during the years when his activities are unknown, he either had acquired money of his own, or he had won the confidence of some one who was willing to entrust a considerable sum to him, for, shortly after his marriage, he was engaged in a financial venture of considerable extent. Among the fragmentary records of Salem shipping are a "Return of Seamen" and an "Invoice of Sundries goods" relating to a voyage of the schooner *Neptune*, during the year 1802, to Salem, from whence not being indicated. The "Return of Seamen" shows that Robert Brookhouse, the master,²⁶ was

²⁴ Dr. Bentley's East Church Records, 1784-1851 (MS). New Englanders often dropped the "r" in pronunciation and added it in spelling; *Salem Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1801, and *Salem Impartial Register*, Aug. 3, 1801.

²⁵ Perley, II, 390.

²⁶ Brookhouse was only seventeen. A crew list of Oct. 24, 1805, gives his age as twenty. He prospered. See *Vistors Guide to Salem* (Salem, 1937), 176.

employed eight months and seven days, at \$1.64 per day. His name is immediately followed by that of N. Hathorne, employed for six months, from April 16 to October 16, at \$1.20 per day. Four seamen, unnamed, were employed for eight months and five days at \$1.63. Since it was the common practice to list the name of the first mate immediately after that of the captain, one may perhaps properly assume that Hathorne was first mate aboard the *Neptune*, though the Return does not explicitly say so.

The relative smallness of the wages of the captain and the mate is clear enough when one learns that officers (as well as seamen to a lesser extent) were permitted space aboard for "adventures."²⁷ The "Invoice of Sundries goods Shipped by Nath^l Hathorne . . . a Citizen of the United States of America" indicates that Hathorne, either in his own right or in behalf of some one unnamed, had invested in eighteen pieces of sail cloth (three bales), 50 pieces of "Britanias" (one bale, 250 ells), and a bag containing 40 "Umbrillas," the whole invoice at 2,443 pounds, 9 shillings and 9 pence. Duties and fees amounted to \$75.27.

Though these records do not tell where these goods were purchased, the period of time concerned and the dominance of duck in his purchases might with some reason suggest Russia, Russia at that time being one source of duck, hemp, and iron.²⁸ The record of the *Neptune*, a small vessel of 101 tons, shows that it was largely engaged in trade with Europe and the West Indies. Hathorne himself, as we shall presently see, later became its captain.

Early in April, 1803,²⁹ as mate of the brig *Hannah* (Clifford C. Byrne, master), Hathorne was on his way,

²⁷ James Duncan Phillips, *When Salem Sailed the Seven Seas* (New Haven, 1946), 20-21.

²⁸ Osgood, 95.

²⁹ Loggins says (200-1) that between December, 1801, and the spring of 1803 Hathorne was in Sumatra and Java in command of Elias Hasket Derby's *Astrea* on which Nathaniel Bowditch had once sailed. I do not know the source of Mr. Loggins' information, though Derby had died on Sept. 8, 1799, and before his death had sold the *Astrea* to some Boston merchants. See Frances Diane Robotti *Chronicles of Old Salem* (Salem, 1948), 48, and Berry, 97. There are numerous other discrepancies in our respective sources, it seems.

presumably once more, to Russia, the *Hannah* carrying, among other items, 51 sacks of sugar and 147 bags of coffee, for the weighing of which the records of John Page and Sam Ropes, weighers and gaugers, are still extant. On May 26, 1803, the *Hannah* was in Copenhagen, where the captain and mate made a sworn statement regarding goods delivered to Mr. Ryberg and Company. On September 27, the brig was back in Salem, entered from St. Petersburg, and carrying a cargo of hemp and iron, as well as 2,668 rubles, each valued at 62 9/10 cents. There were 120 manifests, and the duties amounted to \$2,460.90, a very small amount as compared with the duties paid by the famous East-Indiamen.

Possibly Nathaniel Hathorne's next voyage represented the climax of his brief career. At any rate, aboard the ship *Mary & Eliza*, 233 tons (Capt. Henry White, owner Joseph White), he left Salem about December 16, 1803, for Batavia. On the 18th he began the third and last of his logs known to be extant. He did not indicate his office on board ship but in view of later circumstances, it may be assumed that he was first mate. Of his logs, this is the most cursory. Whereas the voyages of the *America* and the *Perseverance* were recorded with a lively awareness of the physical world, the voyage of the *Mary & Eliza* is treated with brevity and terseness. Perhaps the novelty had ceased, or perhaps he was very busy. The ship remained at Batavia from about April 27 to June 22, 1804. It returned safely to Salem after a relatively short absence of ten months.

Nevertheless, in spite of the prosaic log, the voyage was an important one to young Hathorne, now aged twenty-eight years. In the first place, though the *Mary & Eliza* left Salem under the captaincy of Henry White, it returned home under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Hathorne. What happened to Capt. White along the way is not said, though White was in Salem in December, 1804, ready to take the *Mary & Eliza* on its next voyage. Not only was this seemingly Hathorne's first command; it was the largest vessel that he was ever to command. The Custom House "Abstracts" indicate that there were 168 mani-

fest, and that the duties totalled \$17,053.98. The "Report and Manifest of the Cargo" was signed by Hathorne himself as master. It shows that the cargo, consisting of coffee, sugar, nutmegs, mace, chinaware, sweetmeats and "camphir" was consigned to Mr. Joseph White,³⁰ Capt. Henry White, Jr., Mr. Will Safford, Jr., Mr. Stephen White, Nath^l Hathorne, John Scoles, and Mr. Nath^l Silsbee, Hathorne's adventure consisting of 29 packets of coffee, 16 packets of sugar, and 2 pots of sweatmeats—as compared with 1799 packets of coffee and 863 packets of sugar consigned to Joseph White. If, in his later career, Capt. Hathorne was to have further adventures, the Custom House Records seemingly make no mention of them.

The voyage of the *Mary & Eliza* was important to Hathorne for other reasons also. Presumably he knew that his wife would present him with his second child during his absence,³¹ but of course he would not dream that this child would some day be a world-famous author. On July 4 the momentous day, en route from Batavia to America, the father recorded in his log—

Strong breezes frequent squalls

Middle part fresh breezes passing clouds

Latter part fresh gales

155 miles. Latt. 19.. 23 South. Long.70.. 46E.

And a more immediate local honor was to be associated with this voyage, for now that he had commanded a vessel "round the Cape," he was eligible to membership in one of the most outstanding societies in maritime Salem—the East India Marine Society

Indeed, Capt Hathorne had returned from Java less than a month when, on November 7, 1804, by unanimous vote of the Society he and Capt. White, who had taken the *Mary & Eliza* round the Cape on her outward voyage, were admitted to membership—together with three other captains. Two events marked the occasion: first, a procession, attended by a guard from the Salem Cadets, up Es-

³⁰ Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, p. 337.

³¹ A daughter, Elizabeth, was born in the first year of the marriage.

sex Street, down Federal Street, through Washington Square, and back to the Society's hall on Essex (No. 173); and, secondly, a dinner to which had been invited, besides the members, a number of local celebrities, including Capt. Joseph White, Capt. Joseph Peabody, veteran of the Revolutionary War and one of Salem's wealthiest merchants, and Wm. Prescott, father of the historian-to-be.³² Capt. Hathorne, now aged twenty-nine, was therefore in the company of Salem's elite.

The Salem East India Marine Society was "a sort of inner shrine," for, although the Salem Marine Society, of which Capt. Hathorne's father had been a member,³³ accepted any Salem captain, the former accepted only those who, as masters or supercargoes, had actually navigated the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. It had been established in 1799, at which time Capt. Hathorne's older brother, Daniel, had become a member.³⁴ At the time of Capt. Hathorne's admission in 1804, there were apparently fifty-eight members, including Salem's second-most-renowned son, Nathaniel Bowditch, author of *The Practical Navigator*, whose fame was just beginning to make its way around the world.

The year 1804, therefore, was an important one to Nathaniel Hathorne. He had attained the rank of captain; he had won an honor acquired only by the most outstanding of his fellow-captains; and he had had a son born to him. If he could have known that his son was some day to acquire greater distinction than that accorded to any other of Salem's wealthy or otherwise celebrated sons, his satisfaction would certainly have been great indeed.

After only a brief respite at home, Capt. Hathorne cleared, on November 23, 1804, for the West Indies, now in command of the schooner *Neptune*, on which he had once served as mate. The *Neptune* carried a cargo of boards, staves, shooks, hoops, onions, pepper and doubloons. It

³² Records (MS.) Salem East India Marine Society, 1799-1824. Peabody Museum, Salem.

³³ Phillips, *When Salem*, etc., 19; *Laws of the Marine Society at Salem* (Salem, 1923), 163.

³⁴ *History of the Salem East India Marine Society* (Salem, 1916), Introduction and pp. 55, 57.

returned from Martinique with sugar, coffee, and molasses on April 5, 1805.

In Salem less than two weeks, the *Neptune* left on April 17, 1805, for Bordeaux, France; Hathorne as master, and sugar and coffee as cargo. Then, mysteriously, Capt. Hathorne disappears from the records with as little explanation as Capt. White disappeared from the records of the *Mary & Eliza*. The crew list of the *Neptune*, when she sailed from Nantes on or about October 24, 1805, indicates that the schooner was commanded on her homeward journey by Robert Brookhouse, with whom Hathorne had once sailed as mate. No mention whatever is made of Hathorne. Twice in 1806 it sailed to the West Indies, but without Hathorne's name in its crew list. Nor, apparently, do the Custom House Records again allude to him until 1807.

In the meanwhile, however, there occurred at home certain family events which suggest some trends of family thought. On Sunday, April 6, 1806, during the First Church service, Mrs. Hathorne's name was "propounded for Church Communion," and so, too, on May 18th, was the name of her older sister, Mary Manning. The records indicate that on Sunday June 29, 1806, both women, aged twenty-five and twenty-six respectively were baptized and admitted to full communion in the church of the Hathorne family. On the following day Monday, June 30, Elizabeth Hathorne, aged 4, and Nathaniel Hathorne, aged 2 were baptized privately, though it is not indicated where or in whose presence the ritual was performed. Under the circumstances one can only surmise the mother's influence.³⁵

In June, 1807, Capt. Hathorne assumed command of the brig *Nabby*, 154 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons, which had been built in 1803, and which in 1807 was owned by Benjamin Babbidge, Samuel Archer, 3d, and John Andrews.³⁶ She left for

35 There are three MS. records: The Records of the First Church, 1629 to —; Occurrences in the 1st Society (apparently kept by a Deacon Hartshorne); and Another Record of Marriages (etc.), Beginning in 1736. A second daughter, Mary Louisa, was baptized on March 18, 1808. The father never saw her.

36 *Ship Registers*, etc. Only in connection with the *Nabby* does this volume appear to mention Capt. Hathorne.

the West Indies about June 29 and returned October 14, the return trip from Cayenne having been made in 29 days, the cargo, consigned to Archer & Andrew, consisting of cocoa, rocoa, and cotton. After the custom of the time, Capt. Hathorne reported and the local newspapers published the names of the vessels which he had left at the Guiana port on September 15: Schooner *Sally*, Capt. Swan, of Newburyport; the *Experiment* of Philadelphia; the *Venus* of Baltimore; "and some others not recollected." And lest it appear that Capt. Hathorne was sailing out of Salem alone all this while, it may be of interest to glance momentarily at the activities in Salem harbor during a week or so as indicated in the "Ship News," a standard feature of the local newspapers, and probably eagerly watched by local merchants.

Entered

Brig Nabby	Hathorne	Cayenne
" Washington	Story	Havana
" Republican	Emery	"
Bark Active	Rust	"
Schooner Ann	Heron	'Maracaibo
" Catherine	Patch	Surinam
" Victory	Learock	Martinique
" Raven	Cook	Guadeloupe
" Bald Eagle	Hull	Malaga
Ship Augustus	Cheever	Barcelona

Cleared

Schooner Betsy	Thomas	Martinique
" Two Brothers	Fowler	West Indies
" Hawk	Lee	Havana
Brig Betsy	Tucker	"
Brig Nancy	Peart	Alicante
Bark Leopard	Barker	Leghorn

This list³⁷ may be fairly indicative of Salem shipping during its flood tide in the decade before Jefferson's embargo, though the trade with the Far East, which had by

³⁷ *Salem Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1807 and *Essex Register*, Oct. 22, 1807. See Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, Chap. XV and Osgood, *passim*, for remarks on distribution of Salem shipping in time.

no means closed, happens to have no representation in it. In participating in the trade of the West Indies and South America, Capt. Hathorne was only joining the ranks of captains and merchants who outnumbered those trading in the Far East or Europe.³⁸ What specific reason he had for abandoning his voyages to Europe or the East, one can only guess. The most distant voyages in the big ships may have offered the greatest rewards, but they also entailed the greatest risks, though the risks were great enough anywhere. As a man with a family, he may have preferred the shorter voyages which permitted him the more frequent periods at home. There may have been other reasons.

Whatever the reasons, it was in the nearer trade that he was to continue for the remainder of his short life. In spite of the embargo which threatened to tie up American shipping, Capt. Hathorne prepared to sail the *Nabby* to Surinam. Actually, the impending embargo had not yet gone into effect,³⁹ and so when the *Essex Register* of Monday, December 28, 1807, reported that the *Nabby* had cleared for Surinam, it also reported the departure of other vessels to such various places as Havana, Leghorn, Isle of France (Mauritius), West Indies, and Alicante. Salem merchants and sailors were apparently much more willing than was President Jefferson to take the chances of impressment by French or English naval forces. Capt. Hathorne and his employees seem to have been no exception. Staying in port indubitably meant unemployment.⁴⁰

Because the threat of impressment had long prevailed, as Capt. Hathorne had known from first-hand experience ever since he had sailed on the *America*, his own statement vouching for the American citizenship of his own crew on the *Nabby* may be of special interest. On December 19, 1807, John Punchard, notary public, affixed his signature and seal to the document showing that on that day Nathaniel Hathorne, Master of the Brigantine *Nabby*, had ap-

38 Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 320.

39 Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 265, says that news of the embargo reached Salem on Dec. 29, 1807.

40 Nevertheless, the Hathornes were Democrats. The author apparently inherited his political affiliations.

peared before him and made oath that an attached list composed "the said Brigantine's Company, the places of their Birth and Residence and a Description of their Persons, as far as he can ascertain them." From this document it appears that the master was thirty-two years old, five feet and ten and one-half inches tall, and of light complexion. Hardy Phippen, the mate, like second mate John Perkins and seaman Jacob Poland, was from Salem. Seamen Samuel Spalding, William Lefavour and William Hill were from Westford, Topsfield, and Baltimore respectively. The birthplace and residence of William Johnson, the cook, black, was not indicated. He was probably in no danger of impressment. The crew ranged in age from twenty-one to twenty-nine. Only Spalding (6 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in.) was as tall as the captain. The composition of the ill-fated crew acquires interest in the sequel.

On January 28, 1808, the *Nabby* had arrived at Surinam, as was reported to the *Essex Register* (March 9) by some captain who had left Capt. Hathorne there. Though markets for American produce were high on February 1st at this chief of South American ports,⁴¹ there were ominous rumblings that they would soon be closed, news of an embargo at Barbados having been received, and one expected at Surinam, then an English possession. Most pertinent to the *Nabby* was the news that John Perkins, second mate, had died on the southward passage.

The death of mate Perkins was but a prelude to the misfortune that was to fall upon the crew of the *Nabby*. Capt. Hathorne, of course, was not a stranger to deaths and burials at sea; but for such disaster as was presently to befall, nothing in his known history could have prepared him.

The coastal regions of Guiana had long been regarded as one of the unhealthiest parts of the tropics, a fact to which Capt. Hathorne must not have been a stranger. The dreaded yellow-jack had carried away many a rugged New England sailor, ending his days in untellable misery. To guard against the terror, it was customary for vessels to trade in these areas mainly during the cooler months, when the disease, its cause yet unknown, was least prevalent.

41 Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 241.

Either the *Nabby* lingered too long, though there were still American vessels in port when it left, or it was the special victim of mischance, for before it cleared it had lost not only John Perkins, but also its captain and four other members of its crew—six men, that is, of a total seven.⁴²

The *Nabby* left its dead to unknown graves far from home and returned with a new crew under the command of the well-named Hardy Phippen, once its first mate. In latitude 19.. 6 longitude 61, the *Nabby* was boarded by the officers of a French ship of twenty guns with the erroneous news that war had been declared between England and America.

The air was full of rumors of war and tales of violence and death. The bark *Active*, Capt. Richardson, bound for Spain, was twice boarded by English men-of-war; its crew, except its captain and three men impressed; the captain and steward seized some arms, overcame the prize crew, and brought them back to Salem in irons. The Brig *Nancy*, Captain Pert, returning from Alicante, was seized by an English 74 and a frigate, five hands removed and a prize crew put on board. Running out of water the English prize-master was dependent upon the Salem captain to take him to the nearest port. Captain Pert (how appropriate some of the names) brought his own *Nancy*—and the English prize crew—into *Salem*! Capt. Marston of Salem, returning from the West Indies, took possession of a vessel with fifty-six slaves on board, the white captain and mate having died of disease, and the blacks having murdered all the remaining whites. The times were rough and turbulent.⁴³

In Salem, after the return of the *Nabby*, Archer and Andrew announced in the *Salem Gazette*⁴⁴ that any person legally authorized might receive the effects of Nathaniel Hathorne, late master, and those of his men. The death was recorded in the First Church Records, and on Sunday, April 10th, Richard Manning, Captain Hathorne's brother-in-law, handed up to the Reverend William Bentley of the

⁴² Phillips, *Salem and the Indies*, 232. *Salem Gazette*, April 22, 1808.

⁴³ *Salem Gazette*, March 1, April 15, and April 19, 1808.

⁴⁴ May 3 and again May 6, 1808.

East Church a request for a prayer to be said for the captain, at whose marriage the doctor had officiated.⁴⁵ Capt. Hathorne was dead at thirty-three, and Elizabeth Hathorne, twenty-seven, was a widow, in very straitened circumstances, and with forty years and more of lonely widowhood before her.

In an endeavor to summarize the extant record of the life of Capt. Nathaniel Hathorne, one is struck by its fragmentary and external character. A number of years remain unaccounted for, though perhaps the known facts suffice to suggest the general outline. Like many Salem youths, he early went to sea and spent his life there at the very flood tide of Salem commerce, when Salem vessels went almost everywhere where trade was carried on, and when Salem merchants were at the very height of their prosperity. Although he never sailed around the world, as some Salem seamen did, he was familiar with the West Indies, South America, and the far ports of Europe and Asia. He went up through the ranks on shipboard, and attained the coveted captaincy. Among the captains of his home town, he won the honor of having sailed around the Cape, thus acquiring membership in a distinguished local society.

Like other captains of his time, he made an effort to acquire wealth through adventures on the vessels that he sailed; but, alas, he never attained wealth. The Hathornes never lived in a mansion on Washington Square or Chestnut Street, where the beautiful architecture of Samuel McIntire and his contemporaries still reflects the high watermark of Salem prosperity. Though Capt. Hathorne may have possessed courage and skill in seamanship, either he lacked business acumen or he was the victim of poor fortune. His history is a reminder that the mercantile re-

⁴⁵ *Diary of William Bentley, D. D.* (Salem, 1911), Vol. 3, p. 353. Bentley a second time misspelled the name "Harthorne." *The Essex Register* had announced the death on Saturday, April 9, 1808. Since the *Nabby* entered the port of Salem on April 20, news of the death of Capt. Hathorne therefore preceded his vessel. The exact date of the death is unknown, though it occurred somewhere between Jan. 28, when his arrival at Surinam was announced in the *Gazette*, and March 15, when the *Nabby* cleared Surinam. On March 9, the *Essex Register* item assumed that he was still alive.

noun and wealth and architectural beauty of Salem were acquired at a heavy cost to many who did not share all these splendors, though they experienced amply the struggle for a livelihood, the long periods away from home and wife and children, the dangers of small vessels on large seas, and disease and death in strange lands, with burial at sea or in foreign countries far from kith and kin. Indeed, if the external facts of Capt. Hathorne's life suggest anything, they suggest its essential pathos.

Of the inner man, the facts tell little. We are left to mere surmise.

But the interest in Capt. Hathorne extends beyond the man himself. He happened to be the father of one of America's most distinguished writers of fiction, and therefore literary curiosity inescapably seeks the links between father and son, however large a part conjecture may play in the seeking.

That Nathaniel Hawthorne, the author, was familiar with his father's logs is evidenced by his own scribblings thereon; that he had a very full knowledge of New England history is amply demonstrated by *The Scarlet Letter* and many a tale and sketch; that he was well acquainted with seamen is clear enough from his experience in the Custom Houses of Boston and Salem; that he even contemplated the possibility of employing maritime life in his fiction he himself has said in the "Custom House" chapter of *The Scarlet Letter*; and that the sea was a life-long passion with him is also beyond doubt. But he never did write in any detail of this aspect of life with which he was so familiar. It remained for Cooper to write historical novels of the sea, for Dana to give the realistic picture of life on a sailing vessel, and for Melville to reveal the inner life of the speculative sailor.

One may conjecture, nevertheless, that the life of the father and its attending circumstances deeply impressed and largely tended to shape the writer of fiction. One may perhaps see this influence in such incidental details as those in "The Wives of the Dead," wherein the two young brides are happily awakened to the news that their husbands are *not* dead; or in "Footprints on the Sea-Shore,"

wherein the reader is asked to reflect upon the majesty and awfulness of the great deep, and wherein the sea becomes the symbol of the infinite idea of eternity, the eternity into which Hawthorne was himself perhaps trying to gaze on his homeward journey from Europe.

But these are mere details. It is rather in a much larger indirect manner that the father's influence functioned—in the reflective nature of the writer, in the solitary, brooding character of the thought-life of the great dramatist of the inward sky. It is true that the withdrawal from society of Elizabeth Hathorne after the death of her husband has probably been exaggerated; it is likewise true that the young author's seclusion was not so great as has been said. But it is nonetheless true that the pathetic death of her husband led Mrs. Hathorne to withdraw into her own room and into her own thoughts. The daughter, Elizabeth, became a life-long solitary like her mother. The young author, too, retired to his study to live apart among phantoms of his own creative imagination, emerging, after a decade, into a world of great art, though no one, not even his wife, ever shared the secrets of that creative life. Hawthorne, as his neighbor Ralph Waldo Emerson said, rode his dark horse well. He had learned to ride, one may be permitted to guess, because, by diverse ways, disaster and sorrow had driven him in upon himself, the adversity by some mystery being transformed into a virtue.

Hawthorne, himself, though no Puritan, had a firm belief in Providence.⁴⁶ From such a point of view it may be interesting to contemplate the seemingly unrelated events as shaped by unseen hands: the eager awareness of the youthful sailor to life in manifold forms on the sea; the young man's thoughts of love; the rise to a degree of local fame; the sinking prospects for worldly success; the misery of fever and the lonely death; the sorrowing and desolate wife; and, at last, beyond any expectation, the emergence of literary genius. Cotton Mather would have had no doubts. One can imagine that Nathaniel Hawthorne, author, would nod in approval, though he would probably disclaim the genius and be content with the approbation of the friendly reader.

46 Bridge, 145.

Return of Troops under Command of Major General Sullivan, Newport, April 25, 1778, also Return of Artillery from Boston, Salem, Marblehead and Beverly

Troops										Total	
Regiment	Company	Rank	Private	Drum	Trumpet	Musician	Artillery	Engineer	Other		
1st Regt.	A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2nd Regt.	B	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3rd Regt.	C	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4th Regt.	D	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5th Regt.	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6th Regt.	F	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7th Regt.	G	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8th Regt.	H	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9th Regt.	I	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10th Regt.	J	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11th Regt.	K	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12th Regt.	L	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13th Regt.	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14th Regt.	N	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15th Regt.	O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16th Regt.	P	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17th Regt.	Q	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18th Regt.	R	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19th Regt.	S	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20th Regt.	T	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21st Regt.	U	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22nd Regt.	V	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23rd Regt.	W	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24th Regt.	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25th Regt.	Y	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26th Regt.	Z	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27th Regt.	AA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28th Regt.	AB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29th Regt.	AC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30th Regt.	AD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31st Regt.	AE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32nd Regt.	AF	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33rd Regt.	AG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34th Regt.	AH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35th Regt.	AI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36th Regt.	AJ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37th Regt.	AK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38th Regt.	AL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39th Regt.	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40th Regt.	AN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41st Regt.	AO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42nd Regt.	AP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43rd Regt.	AQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44th Regt.	AR	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45th Regt.	AS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46th Regt.	AT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47th Regt.	AU	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48th Regt.	AV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49th Regt.	AW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50th Regt.	AX	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
51st Regt.	AY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52nd Regt.	AZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
53rd Regt.	BA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
54th Regt.	BB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
55th Regt.	BC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
56th Regt.	BD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57th Regt.	BE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
58th Regt.	BF	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
59th Regt.	BG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
60th Regt.	BH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
61st Regt.	BI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
62nd Regt.	BJ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
63rd Regt.	BK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
64th Regt.	BL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65th Regt.	BM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
66th Regt.	BN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
67th Regt.	BO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
68th Regt.	BP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
69th Regt.	BQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
70th Regt.	BR	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
71st Regt.	BS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
72nd Regt.	BT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
73rd Regt.	BU	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
74th Regt.	BV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
75th Regt.	BW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
76th Regt.	BX	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
77th Regt.	BY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
78th Regt.	BZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
79th Regt.	CA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
80th Regt.	CB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
81st Regt.	CC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
82nd Regt.	CD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
83rd Regt.	CE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
84th Regt.	CF	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
85th Regt.	CG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
86th Regt.	CH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
87th Regt.	CI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
88th Regt.	CJ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
89th Regt.	CK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
90th Regt.	CL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
91st Regt.	CM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
92nd Regt.	CN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
93rd Regt.	CO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
94th Regt.	CP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
95th Regt.	CQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
96th Regt.	CR	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
97th Regt.	CS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
98th Regt.	CT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
99th Regt.	CU	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
100th Regt.	CV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
101st Regt.	CW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
102nd Regt.	CX	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
103rd Regt.	CY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
104th Regt.	CZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
105th Regt.	DA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
106th Regt.	DB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
107th Regt.	DC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
108th Regt.	DD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
109th Regt.	DE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
110th Regt.	DF	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
111th Regt.	DG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
112th Regt.	DH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
113th Regt.	DI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
114th Regt.	DJ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
115th Regt.	DK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
116th Regt.	DL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
117th Regt.	DM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
118th Regt.	DN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
119th Regt.	DO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
120th Regt.	DP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
121st Regt.	DQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
122nd Regt.	DR	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
123rd Regt.	DS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
124th Regt.	DT	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
125th Regt.	DU	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
126th Regt.	DV	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
127th Regt.	DW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
128th Regt.	DX	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
129th Regt.	DY	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
130th Regt.	DZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
131st Regt.	EA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
132nd Regt.	EB	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
133rd Regt.	EC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
134th Regt.	ED	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
135th Regt.	EE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
136th Regt.	EF	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
137th Regt.	EG	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
138th Regt.	EH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
139th Regt.	EI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
140th Regt.	EJ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
141st Regt.	EK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
142nd Regt.	EL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
143rd Regt.	EM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
144th Regt.	EN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
145th Regt.	EO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
146th Regt.	EP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
147th Regt.	EQ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
148th Regt.	ER	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
149th Regt.	ES	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
150th Regt.	ET	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
151st Regt.	EU	1	1								

COLONEL WADE AND THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE TROOPS IN RHODE ISLAND — 1777-1778

By HERBERT T. WADE

(Continued from Volume LXXXIX, page 252)

The services of the Massachusetts State Troops in Rhode Island under Colonel Nathaniel Wade in 1777 and 1778 are of interest as showing what American militia units when organized and enrolled for a specific purpose and a sufficient duration of time of enlistment can and did accomplish in the American Revolution. While this is far from demonstrating the advantage or desirability of such a system of defence yet it indicated that under some circumstances the services of such citizen soldiers could be of value.

Although Captain Wade of Ipswich had been suggested for a commission as Major in the Continental Army following his discharge after a year of service in 1776, he failed of appointment for reasons that do not appear. Possibly poor health, or lack of political backing, were reasons why he was unable to make the New Jersey Campaign. After his discharge at Peekskill, New York, February 1, 1777, he straightway returned to his home at Ipswich and his subsequent service, though far from unimportant, was with the Massachusetts State troops.

While the Colonial Militia system already had shown its deficiencies in the scheme of defence as the American Revolution developed, yet it was cherished by the Colonists from the earliest days and by them was considered both democratic and efficient, notwithstanding such authoritative opinions as to its futility from Generals Washington and Nathanael Greene as early as 1776. Even when it was realized that a protracted struggle at arms was foreseen after Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston, in Massachusetts a definite militia system was adopted by the Legislature of that state. Under the terms of an Act passed January 22, 1776 for "Forming and Regulating the Militia within the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New

England . . ." regiments were assigned to each county according to a certain fixed quota and for each county there was a Brigadier General serving under the Major Generals of the state militia, John Hancock, Azor Orne, and Benjamin Lincoln.

The quota for each county was established as follows:¹

Suffolk County	5 regiments
Essex County	8 regiments
Middlesex County	7 regiments
Hampshire County	6 regiments
Plymouth County	4 regiments
Barnstable County	4 regiments
Bristol County	4 regiments
York County	4 regiments
Dukes County	2 regiments
Worcester County	8 regiments
Cumberland County	4 regiments
Lincoln County	6 regiments
Berkshire County	2 regiments

To assist the Brigadier General of each county, or perhaps to act as executive officer, there were appointed muster masters who functioned in concert with the selectmen of the various towns to secure the quotas called for by the Council and House of Representatives of the Province. Nathaniel Wade was appointed to such a position on November 27, 1778.

With quotas duly assigned to the various counties and machinery established to enroll and train the men listed on the militia rolls, in 1777 the militia regiments were called on to supply for active service though often of a brief period as specified, detachments to be organized into regiments under field officers selected by the Council. Such calls came by Resolves of the House of Representatives and were for service with the Northern Army,² seacoast defence, and for operations in nearby Rhode Island.

¹ Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War, Vol. I, page xx.

² Ezra Stiles writes in his *Diary* under date of August 6, 1777, "Massachusetts was sending one sixth of their militia northward." This was of course to join General Gates' Army to resist Burgoyne's invasion.

At this time there was developing the idea of an expedition against the British in Rhode Island, a region they had occupied since December 8, 1776, with both a land and sea base at Newport.³ As a result of the general discussion of this project the Continental Congress by a Resolution of April 16, 1777, recommended to Massachusetts in conjunction with the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence to form and execute an attack on the enemies at Newport. Accordingly on receipt of such intelligence the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on May 1, 1777,⁴ appointed a *secret* committee consisting of Joseph Palmer, Jedediah Preble, and others to repair to Providence and confer with the Governor of Rhode Island and the commanding officer of the Continental Troops stationed in that town to consider plans for an expedition as proposed and prepare a report. At the same time the Resolve called for sending out a force of militia not to exceed 5000 in addition to 2000 already authorized to serve for one month.

Again on April 13, 1777, it was resolved to raise four full companies of artillery and six partial detachments for seacoast defence to serve until December 31, 1777, and replace those whose enlistments had expired. Then on May 5, 1777, it was resolved that two regiments of infantry be raised for the defence of Boston Harbor to serve for one year from May 1, 1777. Two days later Colonel Danforth Keyes was chosen a colonel of such a regiment, and on May 8, 1777, Captain Nathaniel Wade was commissioned Major in view of his general competence and field experience.

On June 27, 1777, the House of Representatives duly passed Resolves detailing the conditions of militia service for these two regiments and listing their field officers. The regiments were to consist each of eight companies with one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, and eight-six non-commissioned officers and privates. These Resolves

3 See Correspondence of General Washington and General Spencer at Providence. *Letters of Washington*, Vol. VII, pages 114 and 232.

4 *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. XIX, page 126, Chapter 1148, May 1, 1777.

provided for beating orders and enlistments, and pay and allowances while in service.

Colonel Keyes' Regiment instead of taking part in the security of Boston Harbor soon was allotted with other troops to be raised for the proposed "Secret Expedition" to Rhode Island. In addition to participating in these preparations Major Wade took time off to be married to Mary Foster of Gloucester, July 17, 1777, and a few days later, July 23, was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.

It might be said parenthetically that during this year 1777, Massachusetts was also raising and sending a substantial number of militia organizations to the Northern Army to resist General Burgoyne's invasion. However, in the meantime active preparations were made for the "Secret Expedition" now put under command of Major General Joseph Spencer with substantial quotas of men from Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Colonel Danforth Keyes' Regiment with Lieutenant Colonel Wade, when duly organized along with other militia units proceeded to Rhode Island and by September there was a substantial Massachusetts force under the command of Brigadier Generals Solomon Lovell and Joseph Palmer, which was ordered to assemble at Tiverton, Rhode Island by October. Great hopes were held for this "Secret Expedition," albeit many of the militia were enlisted for but one month, and they were organized into brigades under the grand command of General Spencer and totalled nearly 7000 by the middle of October.

The British force on the Island was estimated at about 4000 men. British and Hessian regiments, two of each were on Windmill Hill, a corps of grenadiers and light infantry at Fogland Ferry at the East Passage, one regiment at Butt's Hill, and two regiments at Newport. To convey the American forces across to the Island a number of boats had been collected at or near Fogland Ferry under the charge of Major Nathan Munro, and definite plans for the advance on the enemy's positions were developed. On the first night selected for the crossing there was a severe storm which made such an attack impossible, and a second effort was set for October 19, a

Sunday, to which fact objection was made by at least one chaplain. Further attempts were nullified by bad weather and increased readiness for resistance and defence was manifested by the British, rendering necessary a change in the place selected for the crossing. Then the inevitable happened in the withdrawal of a substantial part of the militia due to the expiration of their terms of enlistment, so that the available strength was reduced from over 8000 to hardly 5000 men. A Council of War was held on October 28th which decided to go forward with the expedition if 6500 could be mustered. With but 5000 returned and the militia force depleted the expedition was accordingly abandoned and the troops returned to their homes.

While there were charges of inefficiency on the part of general officers, who later were exonerated, little positive information is known about the "Secret Expedition" on the score of its organization and tactical development. It demonstrated the futility of depending on militia to serve after their terms had expired, for rarely was it possible to have an operation conducted on a determined time schedule in view of weather and other unforeseen time conditions. Apropos of this condition the Reverend Ezra Stiles in his *Literary Diary*⁵ wrote, "This unhappy Event teaches two Lessons, that Generals commanding Amer Militia must watch the critical Moment when the Patience & S^{pt} & confidence of their men is exhausted; 2nd, it will teach Militia not to be so infinitely impatient for runn^e home when Enlistm^{ts} are out. Had they tarried one week longer, they would have succeeded, taken Rh. Isld. and returned with Honors." This was not written by a critical and disappointed Regular officer but by a minister of the Gospel.

Colonel Keyes' Regiment continued during the rest of the year in Rhode Island without any particular service of especial note or any contact with the enemy. A muster roll of the field and staff officers dated Providence, December 22, 1777, and a roll dated December 27, contain the name of Major Wade, and one at the end of the year's service also gives his name as Lieutenant Colonel. Col-

5 New York, 1901; Vol. II, page 213.

Colonel Wade at least had acquired a knowledge of the ground and experience in command as a field officer to be of service in the ensuing year.

The strategic importance of Rhode Island for future operations continued to be appreciated. After the discharge of the militia brigades it seemed desirable that Keyes' and Robinson's Regiments should remain in service for another enlistment. Accordingly such action was taken by the Massachusetts House of Representatives and provision made for mustering these regiments for this service with pay and allowances, etc., the same as in the Continental service with a bounty to be paid by the muster master.

Furthermore after the surrender of Burgoyne the attention of General Washington and the Continental Congress at the beginning of 1778 was directed to Newport and Rhode Island. Notwithstanding the unfortunate collapse of the "Secret Expedition" plans were developed for another operation in this field with not only militia from the adjoining states, but also a substantial detachment of picked Continental troops from the main army. Massachusetts was to raise for this project troops in considerable numbers in addition to its quota demanded for the Continental Line. To command one of the regiments thus to be raised to take the place of that lately commanded by Colonel Keyes, Lieutenant Colonel Wade was appointed by vote of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, February 1, 1778, concurred in by the Council March 2nd, which also announced his commission as Colonel, with Lieutenant Colonel Henry Wood, and Major Francis Wilson as the other field officers. Major Wilson had served in Colonel Keyes' Regiment in the previous year. Colonel John Jacobs who had served with Colonel Robinson's Regiment as Lieutenant Colonel was put in command of the other organization with the rank of Colonel and the two regiments were referred to as Wade's and Jacobs' Regiments from this time on.

Major General John Sullivan, who was in command and captured at the Battle of Long Island in 1776, and was at the Battle of Brandywine in the following year,

now was ordered to take over the Department of Rhode Island with headquarters at Providence where he was sent in March. To him militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were ordered to report, though these forces along with troops from the Continental Line did not arrive in adequate numbers until the summer. Colonel Wade, doubtless owing to his previous experience in Rhode Island was there in advance of his regiment and on April 1, 1778, was at East Greenwich, an important point on the west arm of Narragansett Bay from which could be observed any hostile movement from Newport by water upon Providence or other landing on the mainland.

His regiment was formally organized and assembled at Providence where his Orderly Book for this campaign duly was begun. The militia now was assembling and it is interesting to note that the Commanding General's Orders soon refers to the soldier-like behavior of his command in distinction to the conduct and lack of discipline of the previous year. This was unquestionably true of Colonel Wade's Regiment as that officer certainly had seen hard and varied service in two previous years and knew how militia should be drilled and disciplined. By July 1st, General Orders provided that Colonel Peabody's and Colonel Wade's Regiments should be provided with 15 rounds of sporting cartridges and a general firing should take place to accustom the troops to the discharge of their pieces. Daily drill, or exercise as it was termed, was ordered and stricter discipline of the men was urged on the part of the officers.

On July 17th, General Orders prescribed Colonel Wade as officer of the day for the following day, and later he often served in this capacity. A Regimental Order gives in some detail the regular routine to be followed by company commanders. Cleaning the arms specially was enjoined and attention was to be paid to the appearance of the men upon parade and particularly that they put on all accoutrements when they mount guard.

The importance of this Rhode Island campaign was shown in a communication from General Washington to

General Sullivan, July 17, 1778, in which he is directed to apply to the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to make up a body of 5000 men, establish magazines of provisions, collect boats proper for a descent on the Island, and to be prepared to receive the French Fleet which was coming to the aid of the American force. It may be stated that General Nathanael Greene, a native of Rhode Island, now Quartermaster-General of the Continental Army, was making elaborate preparations on his own account and through his Deputy Quartermaster-General, Major Ephraim Bowen in Rhode Island for the proper support of the force being assembled. As a result this campaign was one of the rare instances in the American Revolution where the service of supply functioned adequately and efficiently. General Greene later asked and received a field command which he exercised with his usual skill.

The brigades of Glover and Varnum from the Continental Line now were sent forward from White Plains by order of General Washington under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette and arrived at Providence about August 1.

Returning to Rhode Island, Colonel Wade, Brigadier General Cornell, Colonel Christopher Greene, Commandant Colonel Robert Elliot, and Colonel Peabody, at General Sullivan's order met at A Council of War held at Providence, July 25, 1778, to discuss a communication from General Washington and other features of the proposed campaign with a summary of the number and situation of the troops in that department, and other considerations pending the arrival of the French Fleet. This Council of War passed on matters of immediate interest including the proper places for embarking and landing troops on the Island. The militia from the New England States now were being sent forward to Rhode Island and a prompt response was made, though most unfortunately in many cases these militiamen were enlisted for short terms. The important event at this time was the advent of the French Fleet, which arrived off Point Judith at the entrance to Narragansett Bay on July 29. It was a source

of great satisfaction and encouragement to the Americans who realized that French soldiers could be landed to participate in the advance against Newport.

Colonel Wade in his Regimental Orders of July 31st, directed that all the men in his regiment should be supplied with cartridges as they came into camp and that his officers must account in military fashion for the various guns and accoutrements as delivered and receipt for the same. For this time at least there seemed to be an adequate supply of arms and ammunition.

The general plan of operation involved the assembling of boats and boatmen to transport the American troops on the mainland at or about Tiverton to cross the East Channel to the Island on which Newport was situated. The boats from the previous "Secret Expedition" of course were available and General John Glover in command of a brigade from the main army was ordered to proceed to the Massachusetts seaports and engage more boatmen for this work.

In the reorganization of this rapidly growing force in and about Providence the General Orders of August 3, 1778, established two brigades commanded by Brigadier General Cornell and Colonel Commandant Christopher Greene. The former was to consist of Crary's, Topham's, and Jacobs' regiments of Rhode Island and Massachusetts troops, while Colonel Greene's brigade was to be formed of his own regiment of negroes enlisted in Rhode Island, and Colonel Wade's and Colonel Peabody's regiments and Colonel Matthews' regiment of militia. Proceeding from Providence these forces were to assemble at Tiverton and were to be augmented by the Continental troops.

On August 5th Colonel Wade was Officer of the Day and General Orders directed all troops at Providence to march with two days provisions on the following day to Tiverton. Colonel Greene's Brigade Orders are of interest in connection with Colonel Wade's Regiment as dated at Doggett's Tavern August 7, 1778, they provide that the troops will rest and sleep until 6 o'clock and at that hour must be ready to march counted off in divisions of eights while the camp equipment was to go forward at 4 o'clock.

In the meanwhile, the British naturally were informed of American preparations and their occupation of Howlands Ferry and the assembling of boats for the crossing. General Sullivan had gone out to the French Fleet for a conference and a plan was formulated for joint action with the contingent of soldiers to be landed and serve under General de Lafayette, crossing over from the Island of Conanicut which had been evacuated by the British and now was to be used by the French as a base. On August 8th the French Fleet sailed up the Middle Passage leading to the harbor of Newport with an exchange of gunfire with the shore batteries dismantling guns and demolishing two forts.

The British Fleet from New York which was in the offing straightway put to sea and was followed by the French ships in line of battle.

On the Island the British had abandoned their fortifications at Butts Hill at the north and removed to the Windmill Hill redoubt and other positions to the south. General Sullivan without waiting for the Count d'Estaing's landing decided on an immediate occupation of the north end of the Island and the abandoned British works. This was done without opposition and the entire American combat force was landed on the opposite beach. This movement by General Sullivan in advance of the arranged plan with the French was considered discourteous and led to a misunderstanding which had an unfortunate effect on the operation.

Colonel Wade's Regiment crossed with the main American force and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler⁶ of Hamilton, Massachusetts, a volunteer chaplain in General Titcomb's Brigade of Massachusetts militia, wrote in his diary under date of August 10, "Sleep this night in the officer's room in the barracks in the fort taken up by Colonel Wade," indicating that as a result of previous experience the Colonel had secured the best of quarters for his officers and himself.

With the American force now on the Island with their

⁶ *Life, Journals and Correspondence of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1888) Vol. I, page 65.

necessary supplies ferried across and a headquarters established, plans were at once begun for the forthcoming attack. Major General John Hancock who had arrived in command of the Massachusetts Militia was appointed to command the second line of the advance and the various organizations were allotted to specific commands and duties as they arrived.

The terrain surrounding Newport of course was well known and understood by the American headquarters. The British had withdrawn to near the town where they had constructed and occupied fortifications. From the town a road ran in a northerly direction for about two miles where it forked at a blacksmith's shop, from which east and west roads respectively extended up the Island in a general northerly and southerly direction leading through farms. About four miles from this point of divergence a crossroad running east and west connected these main roads. This crossroad bordered the Gibbs farm where American Headquarters were established on Sunday, August 16. It had been decided that this blacksmith's shop would be a proper place to serve for the reduction by siege of the British defences. The east and west roads were not only essential to an advance but must be kept open for any retreat if needed. The intervening country was made up of well-cultivated farms with several rather pretentious estates.

An order of battle now was developed with an advance of light troops, independent companies, and fifty men from each brigade commanded by Colonel Livingston, about four miles in front of the first line. This first line comprised Varnum's Brigade upon the right, Glover's on the left, Cornell's on the left of center, Greene's on the right of center. It was in this last that Colonel Wade's Regiment was placed. The Right division of the first line was commanded by General Varnum, the left by General Glover. The second line was composed of Titcomb's Brigade on the left, and Lovell's on the right, and was commanded by General Hancock. The reserve was Brown's and Holden's regiments commanded by Colonel West, Noyes' Regiment to cover the left flank and Connecticut troops the right

wing. Marquis de Lafayette was in command of the left wing and General Nathanael Greene the right wing. Colonel Lawrence had 300 light troops advanced in front of all nearly two miles to watch the motions of the enemy.⁷

On August 11th the brigade in which was Colonel's Wade's Regiment, was ordered to draw and cook two days provisions and the regiments were to be paraded in front of their separate encampments, counted off in divisions of twelve files and officers posted ready to march by half after three o'clock. This was preparatory to a parade of the whole army at four o'clock when a review by the General Officers was to be held.

Threatening weather with wind moving around to the northeast, which "blew pretty hard, cloudy and rainy," did not interfere with the review but developed into a gale increasing in intensity later in the afternoon and evening. On this date, August 11, 1778, General Sullivan had under his command a total strength of 10,122 men exclusive of some volunteers from New Hampshire and other separate corps. In addition General Sullivan had counted on about 4000 French Regulars from the Fleet, but with its departure this force was not available.

During this day, August 11th, General Sullivan had pushed out light parties toward the British lines and occasional contact was had with the enemy outposts. Thus everything was in order for the advance which was ordered for 4 o'clock on the morning of August 12th, with the march for Newport set for 6 o'clock. Colonel Wade on this day August 11th, received orders⁸ from his brigade commander, Colonel Commandant Greene, that all the regiments in his brigade were to be "paraded" that afternoon in front of their Respective Encampments and Counted of(f) into Divisions of 12 files each and officer(s) posted Ready to March by half past three o'clock this afternoon — they will then Wait for orders."

Most unfortunately on Wednesday August 12th set for

⁷ Major Lyman to General Heath, "Heath Papers," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Seventh Series, Vol. II, Part II, pages 244-6.

⁸ Colonel Wade's Orderly Book.

the advance, the northeast wind of the previous day developed into a severe storm and frightful gale which rendered any forward movement impossible, and as the hurricane increased in intensity it caused the utmost damage blowing away tents, killing horses, drenching and ruining provisions, soaking the soldiers' clothing, and injuring not a few men. What was even more serious, much of the ammunition was rendered unserviceable. Practically every tent in the camp was blown down, and in the case of the militia who had few tents and were forced to remain out in the storm without shelter the damage and discomfort were severe in the extreme.

That this storm in its severity and effects made a profound and lasting impression is adequately testified to by an account of a meeting between Colonel Wade and the Marquis de Lafayette, the Major General of the Day on August 12, 1778, when that distinguished officer made his triumphal visit to the United States in 1824. As reported in the *Newburyport Union* in its account of the formal reception to the French hero this dialogue ran as follows:

"Gen. LaF. O my dear Colonel! you remember Long Island⁹ and the night of Aug. 12, 1778, when you and I lamented the misunderstanding of D'Estaing and General Sullivan.

"Col. W. Indeed I do; and never can forget it. It was a dreadful storm, and the soldiers had no shelter; my duty required me to be out to watch the enemy and you insisted upon walking the rounds with me all night, although I urged you to go to your tent.

"Gen. LaF. I was too anxious to sleep and I thought it my duty to conciliate the American officers, as the French admiral seemed to insist too much upon punctilio to the injury of our common operations. We did not mind the rain, altho we were drenched through and through.

"Col. W. No, indeed. Had D'Estaing assisted us, I always thought we should have compelled Gen. Pigot to surrender; we missed a fine opportunity . . ."

Fair weather came on August 14th, after two days of severe storm, and attempts were made to repair the dam-

9 Evidently an error for Rhode Island.

age, drying out clothes and equipment and putting the mens' arms in the best possible condition for immediate use, and particularly renewing the cartridges. The advance now was set for 6 o'clock on the morning of August 14, with only minor changes in the orders already issued for the forward movement.

The storm had been as great an advantage to the British as it was injurious to the American force which, however, before the main advance was able to make contact with the enemy outposts and capture a few single British and Hessians. The British Captain Mackenzie wrote in his *Diary*¹⁰ for August 14th, "A rebel encampment appeared this day on this side of the Windmill south of Quaker Hill." He also entered the item, "This afternoon about 200 rebels appeared on the first height of the East road."

Thus on August 15th there was an advance according to General Orders to a point directly in front of the enemy's lines on Tominy Hill distant about a mile and a half. General officers riding forward had marked out the ground for the encampment at a distance about six miles from the previous camp. This American line extended across the Island from water to water, while the British had entrenchments of earthworks and redoubts which they had constantly strengthened to such good purpose that General Sullivan was forced to decide to undertake a siege as it was manifestly impossible to carry the works by storm.

Colonel Wade's Regiment by August 16th was encamped at Middletown, and the following day he was one of the field-of-the-day. Approaches and batteries now were started and with entrenching tools distributed fatigue work was begun in earnest with covering parties to protect the workers. There was intermittent cannon fire from the British which was returned by the Americans as large guns were brought up. The French Fleet returned on August 20th somewhat damaged by the storm and conflict with the British ships which on August 10th they went out to meet. However, the French Admiral d'Estaing now stated that he would be forced to withdraw from Rhode

¹⁰ Frederick Mackenzie, *Diary*, (Harvard University Press, 1930), Vol. I, page 352.

Island and go to Boston to refit without landing the French troops counted on as substantial aid to the Americans. This decision led to some bitter feeling and re-creminations.

Colonel Wade's Regiment apparently was better trained and disciplined than the Massachusetts militia of General Titcomb in the second line under the command of Major General John Hancock, who maintained his headquarters with considerable luxury and lavish entertainment. Colonel Wade's officers and men were specially commended by the brigade commander for the spirit and alacrity in turning out agreeable to previous orders.

A crisis now developed as many of the militia and volunteer units with short term enlistments, assuming that with the French Fleet leaving no active operations would be undertaken, departed, thus reducing the American strength by nearly 3000 men. As a result there remained instead of a well-drilled and equipped body of short term troops in large numbers as a reserve, an army now consisting of a few brigades of the regular line commanded by Generals Glover and Varnum and the longer term militia from Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and particularly without the French infantry and marines whose assistance had been counted on.

Accordingly the abandonment of either siege operations or an assault in force was deemed necessary and the heavy artillery and supplies were sent to the north end of the Island and the fortifications there put in readiness for occupation in the event of a withdrawal. On August 27th the American Army received orders to strike its tents and march off by 8 o'clock in the evening, but these orders were countermanded to take effect the next day. The Right Wing was to take the West Road and the Left Wing the East Road with covering parties on their respective flanks.

On this day, August 28th, Colonel Wade was summoned to Headquarters and received instructions as to the part he and a detachment of his regiment were to play in the withdrawal. General Orders for the day gave the following detail for Colonel Greene's Brigade:

Col Wade	C	C	C	S	S	C	D	F	P
Regt	1	—	—	3	3	3	—	—	81

This detail was a picket for the rear guard and was a most important assignment for Colonel Wade. It was to function in the rear of the light corps of Colonel Livingston on the East Road and behind the detachment of Colonel Laurens on the West Road, maintaining connection between the two parties. The main body of Colonel Wade's Regiment with its baggage already loaded was sent forward to the selected position at Butts Hill. About midnight the Colonel himself mustered his detail, examined their muskets and ammunition, of which he made sure each man had an adequate supply, and marched out following the light corps of Colonel Livingston. Before daybreak Colonel Wade carefully placed his men where at the earliest possible moment they could detect the approach of the enemy, who naturally would follow the retiring Americans on one or both of the two main roads. Colonel Wade had marched his picket along the East Road reaching a point about three miles in advance of the main position selected for the American Army. Realizing the importance of checking a sudden attack and the value of the protection afforded and confidence inspired by being behind stone walls, Colonel Wade carefully concealed a substantial number of his men in a large field to await the oncoming of the right wing of the British force. This field was bounded on the south by a crossroad extending westerly from the East Road with another or middle road running north.

The initiative was now taken by the British and a force headed by the Twenty-second Regiment under Colonel Campbell marched by the East Road until they approached the Gibbs Farm, five or six miles from Newport. Here they divided, one part continuing along the East Road and the other proceeding to the left along the crossroad. This latter detachment without proper advance points and flanking parties now marched into the ambush set by Colonel Wade and were met with a devastating fire from behind the walls. After the first volley the American picket was able to reload and deliver a second fire at almost point blank range before the surprised enemy could re-form their

shattered ranks. About one-fourth of the British regiment was brought down before its order could be restored and two Hessian regiments come to its rescue and support while they retreated and joined the main body. The American picket having served their function withdrew to the main guard and to the appointed position where they joined their regiment to secure rest and refreshment.

Inasmuch as an ample reserve was placed by General Sullivan in the rear of the second line and behind the fortifications at Butts Hill it is fair to assume that Colonel Wade's picket now retired to this position. In the meantime the American Army was drawn up in line of battle with the Right Wing on the West Road and the Left Wing on the East Road with ample flanking and covering parties. One regiment was placed in a redoubt in front of the first line and the advance guard which had covered the retreat of the previous evening was placed by General Sullivan about three miles in front of the main position. The section of the advance stationed on the East Road was under the command of Colonel Henry B. Livingston, while that on the West Road was under Colonel John Laurens.

The British now thoroughly aroused and organized were marching along both roads and soon encountered American opposition with sharp fire as gradually they withdrew to determined positions as General Sullivan had wished to bring on a general engagement. Both advance parties had been reinforced and while their fire was effective their withdrawal was ordered to strong defensive positions and was well executed. The British advanced to the base of Quaker Hill and while checked at several points moved against the main American position bringing up their artillery which was in action throughout the day. The British Fleet also took a position where their guns could fire on the American right flank.

With desultory firing during the morning, about two o'clock in the afternoon the British advanced in force on the American Right commanded by General Nathanael Greene. In the center was the brigade commanded by Colonel Greene in which was his own regiment of negro troops raised in Rhode Island now commanded by Major

Samuel Ward, while the Left included the brigade of Line Troops commanded by General Glover. The negro regiment more than met the hopes of those who had trained them. In Colonel Greene's Brigade was Colonel Wade's regiment and if any were engaged in this action there is no record or means of ascertaining as reports and orderly books on this score seem to be lacking.

Down Anthony Hill, the western continuation of Quaker Hill the Hessian column and the British Infantry advanced. To their onset General Sullivan sent in two more regiments of American line troops together with a brigade of Massachusetts militia under General Lovell which had been placed in the second line. This force operated against the British right and rear with complete success. General Varnum's Brigade on the extreme right resisted three attacks on this part of the American line and the light troops under Colonel Henry B. Livingston ordered to advance in a furious bayonet charge stemmed the tide and turned the fortunes of the day.

In the final American advance, in which both Regulars and Militia participated, the British were routed and withdrew to their strong position at Quaker Hill, where they had formed in the first instance and where they were under the protection of artillery and strong defensive works. The general action continued until about seven o'clock in the evening with the British leaving their dead and wounded on the battlefield.

The American victory was complete and General Sullivan would have attacked the British in their works on the following day were it not for the fact that his men had been active for about 36 hours without rest or food since their withdrawal from Newport, while the hazards involved in an action where a possible defeat might involve inability to retire across the water to the mainland had to be considered. In fact such a possibility had to be borne in mind in any decision as a British victory would have involved doubtless the destruction of the American force which could not take any chance of being cut off during a retreat.

This battle of Rhode Island was of some importance

aside from the failure of the main campaign due to the defection of the militia, the lack of co-operation on the part of the French, and the unprecedented August storm. On the other hand it was an occasion where the American staff work in the main was well done, where adequate supplies and transportation were provided and well-planned lines of battle and siege works figured. Where there was fighting the militia did extremely well and the successful withdrawal of the American Army to the mainland elicited the praise of General Lafayette, as did also the conduct of the battle itself which he stated was one of the best fought of the War.

Complete withdrawal from the Island had been decided upon by a Council of War in view of information from General Washington that a British Fleet having aboard 5000 troops under Sir Henry Clinton had left New York to reinforce the Newport garrison. Also until the return of the French Fleet and with diminished American land forces there was little hope of success in an attack on Newport.

General Sullivan ferried his forces and their stores and ammunition to the mainland and deceived the British by the number of tents that he set up at a forward position in the pretence that he was consolidating his troops for an advance. In the meanwhile preparations for the crossing were completed and eventually by 12 o'clock on the night of August 30th the whole army was safely landed at or near Tiverton without the slightest loss.

In the General Orders of August 31st, Colonel Commandant Greene's Brigade was ordered to take post in the neighborhood of East Greenwich, and here Colonel Wade's Regiment served until its dismissal at the end of the year. The duty was not serious involving the maintenance of a row guard, a keen observation of the enemy, and the transmission of intelligence, and a readiness for anything that might develop. Colonel Wade maintained strict discipline and at the conclusion of the year duly praised the officers and men of his regiment for their conduct while in service.¹¹

¹¹ "Captain Simeon Brown's Orderly Book," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. LVIII, July, 1922, page 259.

(To be concluded)

BYFIELD PARISH RECORDS
OCTOBER 29, 1706—MARCH 2, 1762

(Continued from Vol. LXXXIX, p. 273)

September the 30, 1746 At a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Thomas Colman was chosen Moderator also at sd meeting the severall sums here after mentioned were allowd: viz as followeth—

To Mr Nathaniel Dummer for mending up the Parsonage fence (old tenor)	1-13- 0
for takeing down the old meeting house	10-00- 0
for the Rhigours [Riggers?] Severis in Raising the meeting house and steeple	04-04- 0
To those men that undertuck to Buld the new Meeting House for glass yt is usd about the Parsonage House	0-18- 0
To Dea James Chewtes for expence referring to the meeting house	5-18- 1
to Dea Chewte for Exspence Referring to the Steple	2- 1- 7
to Mr Richard Dole for time about the Steple	1- 0- 0
to Mr David Pearson for time spent about the Steple	1- 0- 0
to David Pearson for time and expence about ye Steple	1- 3- 6
to Samuel Danford for time and money spent in Providing Rhigoun [Rigging?] to Rais the meeting house withall	1-18- 0
to Mr Crockor	0-15- 0
to Mr Richard Stuart for a cart Rope	2- 1- 6

also at sd meeting it was voted to allow Mr Benjamin Woodman and Mr Richard Stuart the cost that they are at in makeing eight windows more in the new meeting house then they are obliged to in the articles of agreement

The assessors and colectors that was chosen for the year: 1747: was sworn immedeitly after they were chosen

March the 3, 1746/7 At a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Thomas Colman was chosen Moderator: also at sd meet-

ing John Bailey was chosen clerk for the ensuing year and is sworn, also at sd meeting Dea Samuel Moody Moses Hale and John Bailey was chosen assessors for the ensuing year: also at sd meeting Benjamin Colman and Daniel Chewte was chosen collectors for the ensuing year. also at sd meeting it was voted to Purchis the Pew in the Meeting House in sd Parish of Benjamin Woodman and Richard Stuart that is next to the front door on the right hand as you go in at sd door with the sixty pounds in old tenor which his honnour Mr William Dummer Esq hath given to sd Parish. also at sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted that the assessors of sd Parish namely Samuel Moody Moses Hale and John Bailey in behalf of the sd Parish should take a bill of sale of Benj Woodman and Richard Stuart of sd pew and pay them the sd sum of money for sd pew: also at sd meeting it was voted to give Benj Woodman and Richard Stuart the seven pounds in old tenor which Mr Samuel Robberson and Mr John Pearson gave to sd Parish for there bulding the meeting house one foot higher post then they were obligd to by the articles of agreement

also at the sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted that there should be by the assessors of sd Parish sixty apple-trees sit out on the Parsonage this present year and the cost of sd trees and the sitting out to be brought in to the next Parish Meeting to allow Parish Charges. also at sd meeting it was voted to fill up the old well that is at the east end of the Parsonage House

October the 27, 1747 at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the parish of Byfield Deacon James Chewte was chosen Moderrator of sd meeting. also at the above sd meeting the Parish debts were allowd as followeth: to wit in the New Emetion:

	£	S	d
To Mr Richard Dole for money Expended in ye Parish Servis		-	4- 0
To the widow Mary Stickney for appletrees		0-15-	0
To John Bailey for a day and an halves work		0-	5- 0
also to John Bailey for money he paid at Newbury to make good the Rigon that was made			

use of in Raissing the Meeting House	1-15- 0
To deacon James Chewte for Expencc he was at in Raissing the Speir & damige Received	
thereby in Ropes and other ways	2- 8- 0
to Mr Nathaniel Dummer for work done	0- 6- 6
to Mr Thomas Colman for work done	0- 2- 9
to Samuel Woodbury for a days work	0- 2- 6
to Elkanah Lunt for a days and half work	0- 3- 0

also at the afore sd meeting the assessors of sd Parish was chosen to agree with some sutable man to hang the Parish Bell in the Stepel as soon as it may conveniently be done.

at the above sd meeting that Pew in the meeting house in the sd Parish that is next to the front door on the Right and as you goe in to sd Door was given by the Inhabitants of sd Parish to his Honour Mr William Dummer Esqr by a unanimes vote.

at the above sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish in behalf of the Parish present his Honnour Mr William Dummer Esqr with an atested copy of the above sd vote and give him thanks for the sixty pounds of money which was presented to the sd Parish by his Honnour.

at the above sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons sixty Pounds in old tenor for this present year over and above the sum that was at first settled upon him.

March the 1, 1747 At a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Capt Joseph Hale was chosen Moderator. also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for the year ensueing and was sworn: also at sd meeting Mr Thomas Colman Ens Joseph Hale and John Bailey was chosen assessors for the year ensueing and were sworn: also at sd meeting Mr Benjamin Colman was chosen a colector for the year ensueing and was sworn in his office also at sd meeting Mr Daniel Cheute was chosen a colector for the year ensueing also at sd meeting it was voted to Repair the Parsonage House as followeth—viz to clabbord the South Side and East Side and west end of sd House and to shingle the

Roof of the oldest part of the House the South Side and to make the window frames all new & sashis all new to set the glass in and to new glase the sd house throwout. also at sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish should be as a commity to take care that all the above mentioned work Relaiting to the Parsonage House be done.

also at sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish shall have the same Instructions as they had in the years Past

June the 6, 1748 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Deacon James Chewte was chosen Moderrator also at sd meeting it was voted that the work that is necessary to be done to rais the ground at the out side of the meeting house to sapport the same shall be done by a Rate. at sd meeting Mr Nathaniel Dumer and Lev Benj Poor was chosen to have the over site of the sd work. at sd meeting it was voted to provide a new Buring Cloath for the use of the Parish. at sd meeting Mr Moses Gerrish was chosen to take care that the Meeting House Bell be hung forth with.

August the 25, 1748 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd Meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator also at sd meeting it was voted to dig a well on the Parsonage in the spot where Charls Cassaty hath Begun to dig at sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish agree with some man or men to dig the sd well.

November ye 1, 1748 at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Capt Joseph Gerrish was chosen moderator at the afore sd meeting the following charges were allowd viz

To Dea James Chewte for what the comity expended that were concernd about the meeting house	old tenor 1-11- 0
at sd meeting allowd to Dea Chewte for rum	0-12- 0
to Mr Nathaniel Dummer for two hands and four oxen a cart one day	3- 0- 0
to Joseph Carr for pikes to put in the ends of poles to make use of in Raising	0-14- 0
to Mr Barthol Pearson for makeing ye gins	3- 0- 0

to Ens Joseph Hale for labour about Mr Parsons well	5-10- 0
to Mr Nathan Adams for what he hath done about the Parsonage House more then he was obliged to do in his first Bargain	5- 0- 0
to Stephen Stickney for one day at ye well	1- 5- 0
to Mr Thomas Colman	0-10- 0
to Mr Jonathan Pearson for nails & labour	5-12-10
to Mr Benjamin Colman for labour about Mr Parsons well	16- 5- 0
to Samuel Danford and Benj Pearson Jun for hanging the Parish Bell	16- 0- 0

also at sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Pearsons for the year 1748 five hundred and fifty pounds old tenor for his sallary to be laid in the next Parish Rait

also at the afore sd meeting it was voted that the assessors of sd Parish shall sell the old glass that hath laity ben taken of the Parsonage House.

at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield held on March the seventh 1748 at the sd meeting Capt Joseph Gerish was chosen Moderator of sd Meeting also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for the year ensueing and was imediately sworn by the Moderator at sd meeting Joseph Noyes Richard Stuart and John Bailey was chosen assessors for the year ensueing and it was voted that the assessors instructions shold be the same that they were the last year. at sd meeting Samuel Adams & Israel Adams were chosen Colectors for the ensueing year. also the assessors and colectors were immediately sworn by the sd Clerk.

at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield met on the 21 March 1748 at sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator. at sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted to make a board fence from the Northerly Corners of the Meeting House at Both Ends to the Stables.

November the 17, 1749 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Richard Dole was chosen moderrator of sd meeting. also at

sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons 6 six Hundred Pounds old tenor for his sallary for the year 1749 to be laid in the next Parish Rate. also at sd meeting it was voted to make a stone wall from the High way near Moses Hales house to the fence that is between the Parsonage and Woodman's Pasture.

at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield met on March the 6th 1749/50: at sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderator also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk and sworn also at sd meeting Joseph Noyes David Pearson and John Bailey were chosen assessors for the ensueing year and sworn: also at sd meeting William Longfellow and Benjamin Pearson Jnr was chosen Colectors and sworn for the ensueing year. at sd meeting it was voted that the assessors have the same instructions as they have had in years past. also at sd meeting it was agreed upon and voted that the assessors take care to get the priming work done about the Meeting House that is necessary to be done.

at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield December ye 4, 1750 at sd meeting Mr Thomas Colman was chosen Moderator of sd meeting: at sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons seventy three Pounds six shillings and eight pence lawfull money for his sallary for this present year: also at sd meeting it was voted to give Mr John Wainwright for his suppling the Pulpet five days four pounds lawfull money.

at the above sd meeting the following charges were allowd.

to wit To Deacon James Chewt	0-10- 7
To Mr Joseph Noyes for Sundrys	1-13- 6
also for his making twenty six rods of wall	6-12- 8
To Joseph Carr for Smith work	1-11- 7
To Mark Moors for fifty feet of Boards	5- 4- 0
To John Bailey for Labour	0- 3- 0
To Thomas Smith for Sundrys	0- 5- 4
To Josiah Smith	0- 2- 8

March the 18, 1750 at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Capt Joseph Hale was chosen moderrator also at sd meeting John

Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for ye ensueing year. at sd meeting Mr Richard Dole Ensign Joseph Hale and Mr Daniel Chewte was chosen assessors for the ensueing year also at sd meeting William Longfellow and Benjamin Pearson Juner was chosen colectors for the ensueing year: and the Paristh officers were all immediately sworn after they were chosen also at the sd meeting Richard Dole Joseph Hale Juner and Daniel Chewte was chosen a committy to warn Parish Meetings as there shall be ocasion

at the afore sd meeting the assessors Instructions were voted as followeth to wit to Repair the Meeting House Parsonage House and Barn, also to make and Repair all oute side fences and orchard fenceses Belonging to ye parsonage and to warn meetings as a committee upon all necessary ocasions: also to imploy some person to Ring the Parish Bell upon all necessary ocasions and to sweape the Meeting House to keep it clean and decent: they also are to levey what money is or may be granted by the Parish for the support of the minister upon the inhabitants of sd Parish according as the Law Directs: and also to call the present and former colectors to an account and to Demand and Receive any money that is due to the Inhabitants of sd Parish from any colector or colectors or any other Person or persons for the use and according to the order of the Parish: and also the present assessors are here by impowed to prossecute as the Law Directs any colector or colectors or any other person or persons that shall neglect or refuse to pay to the present assessors or there order any money yt is due from him or them to the sd Parish and also that the former assessors have the liberty of the Books till ye last day of October in the present year in order to make a final settlement with ye former colectors.

October the 29, 1751. at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Thomas Colman was chosen Moderrator. also at sd meeting Mr Richard Dole Mr Joshua Noyes Lev Samuel North and Ens Joseph Hale and Mr Daniel Chewte was chosen a committy to Reckon with the Revnd Mr Moses Parsons to see if the sd Mr Parsons is satisfied with what he hath Re-

cevd of the sd inhabitants yearly for his sallary for the time past since his settlement. if not to see what his demand is on sd inhabitants and to make report of the same at the adjurnment of sd meeting

The following charges were allowd and voted at the above sd meeting, to wit—

	£	S	d
To Samuel Stickney	19	1	9
To Capt Benjamin Pearson	00	6	6
To Moses Hale	00	10	8
To Ens Joseph Hale	01	17	4
To Mr Daniel Chewte	00	16	7
To Jeremiah Jewett	00	06	8
To Mr Richard Dole	00	2	0
To Mr Moses Jewett	00	05	4
To Mr Nathaniel Dummer	00	05	4
To Mr. Stephen Stickney	00	05	4
To Mr Matthew Duty	00	01	8

The above sd meeting is adjornd by a vote to the fourteenth day of November next at one of the clock in the after noon to assemble at ye meeting house

November the 14, 1751 The Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield being regularly assembled at the Meeting House in sd parish, then and there did vote to give the Revnd Mr. Moses Parsons Sixty Pounds in lawfull money for his sallary for the year 1751: provided the sd Mr Parsons gives the sd Parish a full discharge for the time past.

also at sd meeting it was voted to have occasional lectures to be left at the prudence and discretion of the Revnd Mr Parsons, also at sd meeting the sd Inhabitants voted that they are satisfied with what Mr Joseph Adams have allredy offerd by way of acknowledgment for his offences given them in times past.

December the 10th 1751: at a Legall Meeting of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Capt Abraham Adams was chosen Moderator. also at the above sd meeting the sd Inhabitants voted to give the Revend Mr Moses Parsons Six Pounds thirteen Shilling and four Pence lawfull money as part of his sallary for the year 1751

March the 3, 1751 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhab

itants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderator: also at the above sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for the ensuing year and was immediately sworn after he was chosen by ye moderator.

The assessors that was chosen at se meeting for the ensuing year: to wit: Mr Richard Dole Maj Joseph Gerrish Lev Joseph Hale

also at the above sd meeting the assessors were chosen a committy to warn Parish Meetings upon all necessary ocasions as the Law Directs also at sd meeting Mr William Longfellow and Mr John Frazer was chosen Colectors for the ensuing year also at the above sd meeting it was voted that the assessors instructions are the same for the ensuing year as they were the last year. The Parish officers were all sworn immedeatly after they were chosen.

November the 1, 1752 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting dea Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator also at sd meeting it was voted to give the Revend Mr Moses Parsons Seventy five Pounds lawfull money for his sallary for ye year 1752. also at sd meeting it was voted to rais six pounds in money to defray the Parish Charges for the above sd year

March the 6, 1753: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderator of sd meeting also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for the ensuing year and was immediately sworn in his office. also at sd meeting Richard Dole Samuel Northend and Benjamin Pearson Juner was chosen a committy to warn Parish Meetings as there shall be ocasion: and they were chosen assessors for ye ensuing year also at sd meeting William Longfellow and Moses Jewett were chosen colectors for the ensuing year and the assessors and colectors were sworn as the Law Directs.

October the 1, 1753: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield: at sd meeting Majger Joseph Gerrish was chosen Moderrator. also at sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons Seventy five Pounds Lawfull Money for his sallary for the

year 1753: also at sd meeting it was voted to Raise Six Pounds to defray the Parish Charges for this year.

March the 5, 1754 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting dea Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator of sd meeting. also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen clerk for the ensuing year and was immediately sworn. the committy chosen to warn Parish Meetings to wit Richard Dole Benjn Colman and Benjn Pearson Juner and the sd Dole Colman and Pearson were chosen assessors for the ensuing year and were immediately sworn. also at sd meeting Richard Dummer and Samuel Searl was chosen colectors for the ensuing year.

also at the above sd meeting it was voted that the above sd committy and assessors shall have ye same instructions for the ensuing year that was voted in the year 1751

November the 11, 1754 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Majger Joseph Gerrish was chosen moderrator of sd meeting: also at sd meeting the sd charges was allowed to witt to

to Mr Richard Dole	0- 4- 0
to Mr Benj Colman	0 17- 0
to Mr Benj Pearson Juner	0-11- 4

at the above sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons 80-0 0 Pounds Lawfull Money for the present year for his sallary: also at sd meeting it was voted to give Mr Richard Dole sixteen shillings for bilding a stone chimney in the Parsonage House and to mend the old chimney at sd meeting it was voted to raise eight Pounds to defray Parish Charges this present year.

January ye 6th, 1755: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator. at sd meeting it was voted to pay ye 8 shillings & 8 pence that Daniel Thirston of Bradford attchd the goods of Mr Thomas Colman for: and it was also voted to Pay the Lawfull charge

March the 4, 1755: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Joseph Gerrish Esq was chosen moderator: at sd meeting Lev Samuel Northend Mr Benjamin Colman & Mr William Long-

fellow was chosen a committe for sd Parish for the ensuing year also at the above sd meeting the above said committee was chosen assessors for the ensuing year at sd meeting Jonathon Laiten and Timothy Stevens was chosen Colectors for the ensuing year. also at the above sd meeting it was voted to fence a garden on the Parsonage with stone wall not exceeding twenty five Rods: and at the above sd meeting Mr Joseph Noyes engaged to make the above sd wall as soon as is necessary to have it done for two shillings and eight pence per Rod. and at the sd meeting it was voted to give the sd Mr Joseph Noyes two shillings and eight pence per Rod for makeing wall at the above sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parish Clerk for the ensuing year.

at the above sd meeting the same instructions was voted for the above sd committee for the ensuing year as was voted last year

June ye 3, 1755 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Maj Joseph Gerrish was chosen moderrator. at the above sd meeting it was voted to shingle the Back Side of the Back Room Roof of the Parsonage House it was also voted that ye Committee or assessors take care to do the same in convenient time. The other votes that were pased at the above sd meeting in Refferance to the vacant Room in the gallarys in ye meeting hous in sd Parish were reconsidered by a vote

The Committy¹⁹ Pursuant to the order of the Great & General Court have viewed the old town of Rowley the Parish of Byfield together with the Lands Petitioned for by Jonathon Herriman & others for a Parish & haveing considered the state and circumstances of the sd Town of Rowley Parish of Byfield as well as of the petitioners & haveing heard the pleas and allegations of the several parties who attended & were present with us on the whole are humbly of opinion that the petitioners be set off as a parish or precinct according to such meets and bounds as are hereafter described viz: that the divisional line betwixt the Parish of Byfield and the new Proposed Parish begin at Symonds Brook so called where Jacob Barkers land joyns to sd Brook or Mill River as mentioned in the

19 Why inserted at this point we do not know.

plan thence running northwesterly on a streight line to the northwest corner of Benj Stickneys land by the high way taking into Byfield Parish all the sd Stickneys land if any of it should happen to be cutt off by this line & from the sd corner of Stickneys land to run a streight line northely to the east of Samuel Johnsons house takeing into the new proposed premises the sd Johnson and all his land and leaving Samuel Jewett & his land to Byfield and from sd Johnsons house to run a streight line to the east corner of Ensign Benjamin Plummers house where he now dwells only reserving to the Parish of Byfield Henry Poor and John Tenne and their housing & lands if they shold happen to be cutt off by this line & leaving to the new proposed Parish William Fisk Abnor Todd and there lands together with all the lands contained in the farm where on the said Plummer now dewells & from the sd Plummer house northwesterly to the south east corner of Jedidiah Pearsons land and so betwext his land and land of Nathaniel Herrimans and by said Herrimans land till it comes to Bradford line and so by Bradford line Boxford line Ipswich line and as sett off by the Town of Rowley till it comes to the place where it was begun at Symonds Brook or Rowley Mill River. The Divisional Line betwext the Parish of Byfield and the new proposed Parish is a single prickt line as markt on the plann.

The Committy are further humbly of oppinion that the Parish of Byfield be extended southarly to Rowley Mill River so as to take in all the lands lying northerly of sd River together with the families and estates thereon till it comes up to the line betwext the new proposed Parish and the sd Parish of Byfield excepting only Joseph Pearson and his land which is still to remain to the old Parish in Rowley

The Committy are also further humbly of opinion that the families contained within the Respective Parishes & lying adjacent to the divisional line have their homesteads affixed to that Parish in which there houses are included together with such persons as are before expressly mentioned by name.

all which is humbly submitted in the } Lymonds
 name and by ordo of the Commitee } Epes

In Council Sept 30, 1731: Read & ordered that this Report be accepted that the lands above described and bounded be and hereby are sett off and constietueted a sepearte and distineck precinet and that the Inhabitants there of have and injoy all the powers and priviledeges that the inhabitants of other precincts with in this Province do or by law ought to injoy.

Sent down for concurrence:

J. Willard Scettry

In the House of Repetives octo ye 1, 1731

Read & concurred J Quincy

Consented to & true copy examid J. Belcher

J Willard Secry

December the 9, 1755—at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting dea Samuel Moody was chosen moderator at the above sd meeting it was voted to allow Eleven Pounds one shilling & seven pence in lawfull money to sundry persons for servis done for the sd Parish in year 1755 also at sd meeting it was voted to give the Revernd Mr Moses Parsons Eighty Pounds in lawfull money for his sallary for the year 1755: at sd meeting Samuel Longfellow was chosen colector to serve in Stevens roome at sd meeting it was voted to raise 4-10-0 to defray parish charges: at the sd meeting the Parish offissors was sworn in there office

The Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield lawfully qualified to vote in Parish Meetings are hereby notified to assemble & meet at the Meeting House in sd Parish on Tuse-day the second day of March next ensueing at three of the clock in the afternoon to chuse parish officers to serve in sd Parish for the year ensueing as the law directs:

Byfield February ye 26, 1756

Samuel Northend	}	Comity for Byfield
Benjamin Colman		
William Longfellow		

March the 7, 1758 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Joseph Noyes was chosen moderator also at sd meeting John Bail-

ey was chosen Parish Clerk for the ensuing year. Daniel Chewte Richard Dummer and Ens Benj Pearson was chosen the Parishes committy to warn meetings for the ensuing year and the sd committy was chosen assessors for the ensuing year. Colectors David Pearson and Isaac Pearson at sd meeting the former instructions was voted at sd meeting Daniel Chewte Richard Dummer and Ens Benj Pearson was chosen a committy to settle a division of fence between Mr John Dummer and sd Parish

November ye 14, 1758: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr David Pearson was chosen Moderartor of sd meeting: Charges allowed at sd meeting to Sundry Persons for what they had done for sd Parish in the year 1758: 5-16-0-1: at sd meeting it was voted to raise Six Pounds lawfull money to defray Parish Charges also at sd meeting was voted to give the Revernd Mr Moses Parsons for his sallary for the year 1758 Eighty Pounds lawfull money also at sd meeting Joseph Gerrish Esqr was chosen to make application to the Selleck men of Newbury to lay out a way from Moses Hales to John Dumers land

March the 6, 1759: at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parrish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Joseph Noyes was chosen moderrator also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parrish Clerk for the present year assessors Jeremiah Jewett Joseph Searl and John Frazer the assessors was chosen a committy for sd Parish: Colectors David Pearson Juner and Olevor Tennee: at sd meeting it was voted to give the land for a high way two rods wide from Mr Moses Hales down to the bridge below Mr Parsons: also at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen to execute a lawfull deed of the land for sd way

July the 12th, 1759: at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at the above sd meeting Deacon Samuel Moody was chosen moderrator at sd meeting it was voted to putt the Parsonage House into decent habitable repair. also at sd meeting it was voted that ye committy: viz: Jeremiah Jewett John Frazer and Joseph Serl shall bee the men to see the work is done

December the 13th, 1759: at a Legall Meeting of the

Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr David Pearson was chosen moderrator: at sd meeting it was voted to give the Reverend Mr Moses Parsons Eighty Pounds for his sallary for the year 1759: also at sd meeting it was voted to allow to Sundry Persons for what hath been done by them to the Parsonage House and Buring yaerd and Meeting House and Parsonage fence. also at the above sd meeting it was voted to raise one hundred and twenty pounds to pay the Rev Mr Parsons sallary and to defray the other Parish Charges that were to Sundry Persons allowd at the above sd meeting

March the 4th, 1760 at a Legall Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Joseph Noyes was chosen Moderator: at sd meeting John Bailey was chosen Parrish Clerk for the ensueing year assessors for the ensueing year Enoch Goodridge Daniel Chewte and John Frazer and at the above sd meeting the assessors was chose a committy to warn Parrish meetings for the ensueing year as there is ocasion Colectors for the ensueing year Mr David Pearson and Oliver Tennee also at sd meeting it was voted to remove the stone wall that is against Mr Parsons orchard to the high way that hath lately been laid out by the Select men of the Town of Newbury and likewise all the Rail Fence

October 1760: at a Legall meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Byfield at sd meeting Mr Joseph Noyes was chosen Moderator also at sd meeting Colonel Joseph Gerrish Esqr was chosen assessor and a committy man to warn Parish meetings for the present year at said meeting it was voted to give the Revernd Mr Moses Parsons Eighty Pounds for his sallary for the year 1760: also at sd meeting it was voted to raise four pounds to prime the windows in the meeting house also at sd meeting it was voted to raise two pounds to defray parish charges also at sd meeting the following accounts was allowed:

to Mr Joseph Noyes	4	8	0
To Mr Daniel Chewte	0	19	2
To Mr John Frazer	0	7	9
Mr Mr Moses Smith	1	12	8

March 3d 1761 At a Legall meating of the Inhabi-

tonce of the parish of Byfield at sd meting Mr Joseph Noyse was chosen moderator also at said (meeting) Richard Dummer was chosen parish clark & sworn also at said meting Cor. Joseph Gerish Mr Daniel Cheut Mr Isack Person was chosen asesors and comity men for the year insuing to warn parish meatings also at said meting Mr David Person was chosen Colecter the year ensuing

Also at said meting Mr Jeremiah Juet was chosen colecter for the year insuing the comitey have the same instructions for the year insuing as yousal

December 8th 1761 At a legall meting of the Inhabittence of the parish of Byfield at said meeting Mr David Peirson was chosen moderator; at sd meting a comity was chosen to place the school house on the farm of Hon William Dummers agreeable to his will namly Decon Samuel Moody Corn Joseph Gerish Cpt Joseph Halle Mr Nathaniel Dummer Mr Samuel Northern with the Reven Mr Moses Parsons are to apoint the place to set the school house Richard Dummer chosen to receive the money given to the poor of the parish of bayfeald by Hon William Dummers will and to give a recate

Voted also at said meating to give the Rev Mr Moses Parsons Eighty four pounds thirteen shilings and four pence salary for the year 1761 Also at said meting voted to rais six pounds rising charges for the year ensuing

Parish charges Mr Daniel Chewt Compt

April 3 1761

half a day to seting bord fence	0- 1- 0
for one day to mending fence	0- 2- 0
for mending fence & hanging gat	0- 1- 0
for tending the Panter half day	0- 1- 4
for twelve days Bording the Panters	0- 9- 4
for a bord & nals & making step at the meting- hous dor	2- 2- 0
for Ringing the Bell	0-16- 0
Moses Smith sweping the meting house	0-16- 9
Cor. Joseph Gerrish	0-12- 0

January 11th 1762 At a Legal meting of the inhabittence of the Parich of Byfield Mr Joseph Noyes chosen moderator 11y Voted that the former comity that a-

poynted the plase should buld the School House on the Farm of the Honle William Dummer Esq Decst of Boston a greable to his will 21y at said meting a Comity was chosen Mr. Israel Adams Mr Joshua Nyce Lef Benjamen Peirson Mr Jeremiah Juett Mr Benjamin Colman to receive the money given by the Hon William Dummer Esq Dest of Boston to the Poor of the Parich of Byfield they are to despose of the money to the Poor of sd parich & give a recait

March 2d 1762 At a Legall meting of the Inhabitance of the Parich of byfield Mr Joseph Noyes moderator At sd meting Richard Dummer was chosen Parich Clark for the year ensuing Assessors namly Mr Benjamin Colman Corl. Joseph Gerish Junr Mr Jeremiah Poor The Assessors was chosen a committy for sd Parish. Collectors manly Mr Benjamin Jackman Mr. Oliver Pierson. Comity chosen manily Corl. Joseph Gerish Junr Mr Abraham Brown Mr Nathinel Dummer Mr Jeremiah Poor Mr Benjamin Colman to joyn with ye minester of the parish of Bayfield in appointing & directing a Gramer School master a greable to the will of the late Honl. William Dummer Dect

voted to make a good suffisent ston wall from the conor by Mr Moses Halls house to a maple tree with what Mr John Frazer is to make The assessors have the same Instructions as formerly

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE. By Perry Miller. 1953, 513 pp., octavo, cloth. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Price, \$6.50.

Scholars and research workers will delight in this study of "certain generalizations about the relation of thought or ideas to communal experience" in provincial New England in its first hundred years. This is a sequel to the author's *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* which is to be republished in 1954. Continuing in the same vein as his former work, Prof. Miller now explores the heights and depths of the New England mind. He has kept to his original tenet of dealing primarily with "what was said and done publicly," and rarely refers to diaries or private papers. New England for its first two hundred years lends itself magnificently to this type of study as it makes a perfect laboratory for the historian. Its people were homogeneous and it was comparatively isolated.

The book opens on a completely unified intellectual system, brought over from England by people who thought that their religious system would work in this country away from the distracting influences present in Europe. "If there was one thing Winthrop and the signers of the Cambridge Agreement could say, in all honesty, about themselves, it was this: men of affairs they were, but they conducted their businesses and built their estates without for a moment forgetting that they aspired to godliness."

Prof. Miller has traced the breakdown of this system through the "Jeremiads," the stylized fast day sermons and through the Dissenters who buffeted around and against Increase Mather and his son Cotton to the end of the century, during which "society has become a time-bomb, packed with dynamite, the fuse burning close. It was a parched land, crying for deliverance from the hold of ideas that had served their purpose and died."

Of particular interest to our readers is Prof. Miller's placement of witchcraft in the intellectual history of the times. "The most curious of all the facts in that welter we call Salem witchcraft is this: if you expunge from the record those documents that arise directly out of the affair, and those which treat it historically, like the *Magnalia* or Hale's and

Calef's accounts, and a few twinges of memory such as appear in Sewall's *Diary*, the intellectual history of New England up to 1720 can be written as though no such thing ever happened. It had no effect on the ecclesiastical or political situation, it does not figure in the institutional or ideological development . . . for twenty-eight years this cataclysm hardly appears in the record — until summoned from the deep by opponents of inoculation as a stick to beat the clergy for yet another 'delusion.' Only in 1721 does it begin to be that blot on New England's fame which has been enlarged, as much by friends as by foes, into its greatest disgrace." John Wise and Benjamin Wadsworth, Essex County divines, are also discussed in this account.

Prof. Miller's research has been exhaustive for this period and he is to be congratulated on an admirable work. Good bibliography and index. Recommended to all libraries.

ISRAEL THORNDIKE, *FEDERALIST FINANCIER*. By J. D. Forbes. 1953, 160 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Published for the Beverly Historical Society by Exposition Press. Price, \$3.50.

As a careful economic analysis of Israel Thorndike's business career this book is excellent. From his pre-Revolutionary interests to the time fifty years later when he had withdrawn from the sea, we get a good view of his maritime activities. Another chapter deals exclusively with his land speculations, still another deals with his interests in banks, insurance companies, turnpikes, etc., and yet another with his investments in textiles. All are kept in tight compartments and the interrelation of his various activities is hardly indicated. Each is a good analysis of its particular subject.

The chapters dealing with his private life are trivial and unimportant. It is only when he takes up politics that the author begins to show his anti-Federalist bias. It was noble and virtuous to favor the bloody French Revolutionaries and the all-conquering Bonaparte, but wicked and traitorous to be pro-British, although on the whole they had treated us far better. The statement summing up the issues of the War of 1812, however, is unexpectedly excellent (p. 110) and contradicts some of his other statements. "These vessels of prey set forth on semi-piratical voyages to seize British merchantmen," (p. 18) is the way he damns the Revolutionary privateersmen (including Thorndike). As a matter of fact the

privateers fought by the rules laid down for them with extraordinary decency and humanity, and aided our Revolution as much as any equal body of men. Most of them ended the war poorer than they began.

The author is very sore that our government ever paid the French spoliation claims, blissfully ignoring the fact that Jefferson assumed the claims as part of the "quid pro quo" of the Louisiana purchase treaty and would have seen them paid at once if he had been an honorable man ("most outrageous money grab," p. 44).

A long letter of Thorndike to Pickering about the necessity of organizing state troops to defend the Massachusetts seaports in 1814, which the Federal government had taken no steps to defend, is quoted for the sole purpose of picking out two words: "We must organize some state force for present defense saying nothing of *ulterior objects*." Of course state troops have a hundred ulterior uses, but to the author these two words indicate that Thorndike and Pickering were organizing a state army to support secession. This view is of course coupled with the Hartford Convention, the favorite whipping boy of such writers, but which did nothing more inflammatory than ask the Federal Government to defend the New England ports. The mythical "Essex Junto," to which Thorndike is accused of belonging, is another boggy attacked.

It is too bad that a man as useful and distinguished as Israel Thorndike should not have had a biography by a writer in the New England tradition, who recognized his great qualities, and not by a man who knew so little of Essex County that he called the famous Topsfield Hotel "a stage house on the Salem and Chelsea Bridge Turnpike" (p. 107)!! Economic historians should attend to their own knitting and not attempt to allege improper motives to political activities.

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS.

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